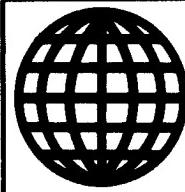


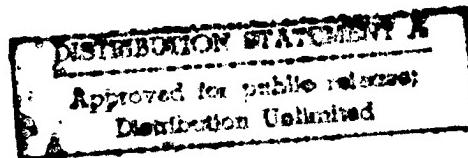
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# ***JPRS Report***



## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## CONTENTS

23 MAY 1988

### POLITICAL

#### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Church-State Conflict Continues .....	1
Church Policy Statement .....	1
Report on Censorship of Church Publications .....	1
FRG Analysis of GDR Church-State Relations .....	3

#### HUNGARY

Zoltan Kiraly Urges Changes Within System .....	3
'The Crisis of Hungarian Socialism' .....	10

#### POLAND

Letter Defends Marxism, Sees Need for Evolving Socialism .....	21
Socialism's Restructuring Promises More Democracy, Economic Reforms .....	22
Solidarity Adviser Promotes TU Pluralism, Views Economic Problems .....	25
Columnist Favors 'Pluralism,' Faults Media Use of Term .....	28
Ideology Not Viewed as Limitation in Effecting Reform .....	31
Swiderski on Party Cadres, National Leadership Tasks .....	34
Selected Voivodship People's Councils' Sessions Reported .....	39
PZPR Voivodship Plenum in Skieriewice Reported .....	44
Ministerial, Sejm's Legislative Initiatives Discussed .....	44
Press Council Session Notes Less 'Control,' Stresses Readers' Letters .....	46
Cultural Importance of Local Press Over National Press Argued .....	47
Former Minister Critical of State Subsidies, Social Expectations .....	48
Right To Work Examined in Context of Economic Reform .....	50
Public Opinion Survey Regarding Citizens' Militia .....	51

#### ROMANIA

Overview of 1965-1986 Countrywide Reorganization .....	51
Universally Valid 'Model' for Party Rejected .....	62
Mainstream Writer Discusses 'Truth,' 'Dogmatism' .....	65

### ECONOMIC

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

High-Tech Production Association MIKROELEKTRONIKA Started .....	67
High-Tech Production Association ELEKTRONIKA .....	67
Characteristics, Concept of Microstructure of Microelectronics Development .....	68
Bring Large Measure of Utility for Society .....	69
Restructuring of Enterprise Base Viewed .....	70

#### ROMANIA

Interview Describes Work of Successful Agricultural Cooperative .....	71
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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Church-State Conflict Continues

**Church Policy Statement**  
23000077 Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German  
27 Mar 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by GM: "Man as a Whole"]

[Text] A press statement contains an interpretation of the constitutional provision that church and state are separate in the GDR, passed by the Conference of Evangelical Churches (KKL) in mid-March. It states verbatim: "The Church is always responsible for man as a whole. This includes also his societal concerns. Because of Jesus Christ's command to love one another, the Church cannot shirk them. Separation of church and state must not be understood as separation of the Church from the people."

The Conference, the leadership body of the GDR Federation of Churches, now between its annual synod meetings, advocates a frank and open dialogue between church and state. In its opinion, the constitutional principle of separation keeps the Church free from the suspicion "of wanting to solve, as a church, those problems whose solution is the task of the state."

Among other things, talks about those questions presented by Land Bishop Dr. Leich to the chairman of the Council of State on 3 March are seen as a concretization of these fundamental statements (see GLAUBE UND HEIMAT Nr. 11). The KKL expressed its expectation that the necessary preliminary work will be started.

The press statement summarizes thoughts which were discussed during a closed meeting of the KKL in Buckow. The consultations were based on reports on the Berlin events of 17 January and later, on talks carried on since 19 February on all state levels with church colleagues, and on reactions to the encounter in the State Council on 3 March.

The KKL lists as the starting point of its considerations the mission of the Church to bear witness to the gospel of Jesus Christ. As an orientation still valid today, among other things it points to the declaration of the Federation Synod of 1971: "We do not want to be the Church alongside, or against, socialism, but within socialism."

The Conference affirms the principle resulting from the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of religion, that every citizen must have free access to religious services and spiritual ministering. It writes that public preaching of God's word and joint prayer are fundamental parts of the life of a Christian community which must not be impaired. With a view to experiences with intercessory prayer services of recent weeks, which had encountered

criticism from various sides, the KKL warns against distorting such religious service events, even if they are to support the oppressed and the dire needs of the world before God.

The Conference renews its plea to Christians willing to emigrate to remain within the community and not to leave the GDR. In order to fulfill its mission, the Church needs every parish member. The KKL also addresses non-Christians by stating: "Our society needs every person with his talents and capabilities. It loses its diversity, and our country becomes poorer if people withdraw and emigrate. Each one who goes, leaves behind lonelier others. Each one who leaves those entrusted to him creates a gap difficult to close."

But it states further that pain and anger over such a loss must not lead to moral judgment and exclusion. The Church also sees as its mission to contribute to conditions under which people no longer want to apply for exit visas.

The Conference affirms that no special contact or spiritual ministry places are being established for would-be emigrants. Spiritual ministry must not be limited to certain groups or events. Rather, it is a matter of keeping emigration applicants integrated in all forms of community life, or integrating them, respectively.

The Conference registers gratefully that the principle of equal rights and equal treatment of Christian citizens was reaffirmed by the chairman of the Council of State at the meeting on 6 March ten years ago and in subsequent talks with the chairmen of the Church Federation. It sees the possibility that Christians will appeal to it in their desire to work along, if they expect equal opportunities with citizens of differing opinions.

**Report on Censorship of Church Publications**  
23000077 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE  
ZEITUNG in German 23 Apr 88 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "Blank Spaces Are Not Permitted"]

[Text] A brochure, "Firsthand: Christians and Churches—Information from the GDR," published by the East Berlin foreign press agency PANORAMA DDR, proudly proclaims: "In addition to six daily CDU newspapers, 32 church and theological newspapers and journals are published. The weekly newspaper DIE KIRCHE has five regional editions. Also published weekly are the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG, GLAUBE UND HEIMAT, DER SONNTAG, the POTSDAMER KIRCHE, the EVANGELISCHE NACHRICHTENDIENST, and the Catholic ST. HEDWIGSBLATT." On the second Sunday in April, four of the five evangelical weekly newspapers with a joint circulation of about 150,000 were not published. Also, the already prepared EVANGELISCHER NACHRICHTENDIENST—a hectographed information service with

a circulation of 650 copies—was not delivered to the subscribers by the GDR postal newspaper service which holds the state distribution monopoly for newspaper products. State censorship—exercised by the press office of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers which licenses, controls and marks with instructions all GDR printed products appearing periodically—had prevented publication. Those affected were DIE KIRCHE (circulation: 42,000 copies) and POTSDAMER KIRCHE (circulation: 15,000 copies), published by the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg; the weekly newspaper GLAUBE UND HEIMAT (circulation: 35,000 copies) published by the Thuringian Land Church; as well as the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG (circulation: 15,000 copies) published by the Land Church of Mecklenburg.

After only 6 months, the state censorship office thereby gives the lie to those beautiful words dictated by GDR Party Chief and Chief of State Honecker into the shorthand pads of Belgian journalists in October of last year: "Freedom of speech and of the press are constitutionally guaranteed and recognized as fundamental human rights. We consider as vital the diversity of opinions and ideas, and a lively intellectual communication within our own ranks as well as with others holding different opinions, because only in this way can we liberate and develop the potential of our people...Church literature and church publications have a noteworthy volume in the GDR and also meet with growing interest abroad." As Honecker said at the time, this shows "that the church in the GDR carries coresponsibility, exercises it, and is supported in it by the state and all of society."

The weekly paper DIE KIRCHE had announced in its issue of 10 April: "In our next edition we will bring information about the report by Bishop Dr. Gottfried Forck and the report of the church leadership to the Berlin-Brandenburg synod." The POTSDAMER KIRCHENZEITUNG and GLAUBE UND HEIMAT also were going to report on the synod and the bishop's remarks dealing with the state action against the environmental library of the East Berlin Zion church community, the events in connection with the Luxembourg/Liebknecht demonstrations, and the difficulties of those having applied for emigration to the West. The MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG planned a report on the March meeting of the Conference of the leadership of Evangelical Churches, where the aforementioned subjects had also played a part.

But the state censors felt they had to forestall a discussion of these subjects in the church newspapers. So they prevented the publication and delivery of the four weeklies and the information service. In talks with the publishers and editors of the weekly church newspapers, the representatives of the state—just as if Honecker's word no longer had any validity for them—made it abundantly clear that treatment of a number of topics about which there is controversial discussion between church and state—such as questions of emigration, military

service, educational training, human rights, or environmental protection—would no longer be tolerated in church publications. It was said that public discussion of such subjects represented meddling in state affairs. "Coresponsibility of the church" evidently is not to be mentioned any more.

The proceeding of the state censorship office against the four church papers and the Evangelical information service is not just a one-time action and obviously also not one which had not been approved by the highest party and state leadership. In recent weeks, there had been several state interferences in the work of Evangelical church newspapers. Particular difficulties were encountered by the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG and DIE KIRCHE. The censors had objected to reports on the "ecumenical assembly" in Dresden in mid-February and on the spring synods of the Evangelical Land Churches of Saxony and Mecklenburg. They demanded deletions and alterations. For the public, the censorship interference became most evident in the edition of the weekly DIE KIRCHE of 3 April. The editors had clearly marked the deletions ordered by the censors in the reports on the synods at Schwerin and Dresden with three dots in parentheses and blank spaces. The next edition of 10 April does not show the interference of censorship: The intended article on the 75th birthday of Stefan Heym, which was not permitted to be published, had to be replaced with another one. Blank spaces are no longer tolerated.

In his meeting with the chairman of the Evangelical Federation of Churches, Thuringian Land bishop Leich, Honecker on 3 March had still talked about the "beneficial" work of the Evangelical Church, had praised its "independent peace involvement, rich in initiatives" and gave assurances that the socialist state, as before, had much understanding for church concerns. In the GDR, not only church circles are wondering how much value this Honecker word still has. Now one remembers 19 February. At that time, the secretary of the Central Committee in charge of church affairs, Politburo member Jarowinsky—who so far had hardly appeared at all in the state-church dialogue—had talked to Bishop Leich in a tone very different from what one was accustomed to hear from Honecker and had urgently admonished the church not to meddle in state affairs. His statements were made known to local party organizations as action guidelines.

The East German CDU, which for some time has made strong efforts to again have a voice in the relationship between church and state, believed that they recognized early the signs of the times. One day before Honecker's meeting with Bishop Leich, an article by deputy CDU chairman Heyl appeared in the East Berlin CDU paper NEUE ZEIT. It stated: "Our constitution not only excludes any interference by the state in the order, preaching, and service of the church, but also does not permit any interference of the churches in state affairs. The one cannot be separated from the other. The church

as a church is autonomous; it is not a political organization—neither under orders of the state, nor in opposition to it." It would appear that Heyl now follows the "right" course.

**FRG Analysis of GDR Church-State Relations**  
*23000077 Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU  
in German 12 Apr 88 p 3*

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, Berlin: "Church and SED State"]

[Text] A hot debate went on in the (GDR) Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg last weekend. That is not surprising, since this Land church in the GDR was featured in headlines worldwide because of state actions such as searching the environmental library in East Berlin, the arrest even of church co-workers at the fringe of the state Liebknecht-Luxemburg demonstration on 17 January, and the massive blocking of churchgoers in East Berlin on 6 March.

Of course, a conflict within the church leadership is out of the question. The debate this weekend centers on questions of method. The Evangelical Church in its entirety is so far the only body in the communist-organized GDR which shows democratic structures. The church elders are elected just as are the members of the synods, i.e., the representatives of the church parliaments. And different from delegates in the SED state who are selected from single lists, they are also used to air differences of opinion publicly and without mincing words.

Because that is so, the synods are a thorn in the side of the ruling SED. Just before Easter, it forbade Western correspondents accredited in the GDR to participate in, and report directly from the synods in Goerlitz, Dresden, Schwerin and Magdeburg. After a long time, the SED even went so far as to let the censor become obviously active again: the Brandenburg church newspaper appeared with blank spaces, the Mecklenburg church paper did not come out at all on Easter.

It is still totally up in the air what the GDR church newspapers will now be allowed to report about the Brandenburg synod. Dispute is an element of democracy, even of socialist democracy as understood by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev. And if the SED should ever reach the point of also restructuring GDR society along Gorbachev's lines, then the structures of the Evangelical Churches might serve as models.

The churches in the GDR will not have it easy. Their declaration of being a church within socialism precludes adapting to state dicta as well as opposition against the state. As the chairman of the GDR Federation of Churches, Thuringian Land Bishop Werner Leich, remonstrated with the chairman of the GDR Council of

State and SED General Secretary Erich Honecker in early March, the Church by proxy has assumed tasks for the state, a formulation which to this day has not been seen in the SED press.

Spelled out, this of course means that, in the opinion of the Church, the state has not fulfilled some of its tasks. And one of these tasks is treating those who hold different opinions with human dignity, even those dissidents who want to leave the GDR for good.

The dispute of opinions evidenced at the East Berlin synod can be summarized as follows: What can Christians on the threshold to the year 2000 exact from the communist GDR state? On one side, the rather conservative ones, in the sense of preserving established forms, fear that the SED could not be expected to accept an overly broad church involvement, that it would misunderstand it as opposition and would make the Church subject to blackmail, as was said in East Berlin by General Superintendent Guenther Krusche, a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg church leadership. The others point to developments in post-war Europe, to the CSCE final act, glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union, and to disarmament agreements which make old enemy images fade even in the GDR. Therefore, they supported those who want to make changes in GDR society and ask awkward questions.

At the synods of the Evangelical churches, the discussions follow the bishop's report. Every statement has its own importance, but without necessarily reflecting the opinion of the synod. Sometimes personal reasons also play a role. The statements will be taken into consideration before the Berlin-Brandenburg synod passes its resolutions today, Tuesday evening.

A church which in its own self-understanding wants to be a "church for others" (Werner Leich) cannot close its eyes to the defects of society nor to the tribulations which people bring to it, if it does not want to lose quickly its newly-found credibility, particularly among the young in the GDR. Tonight, the synod's resolutions will be made with this in mind.

It is in the nature of democratically composed bodies that their dispute over opinions sometimes makes third parties laugh. If the SED should be among those laughing, their laughter may well be of short-lived.

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**HUNGARY**

**Zoltan Kiraly Urges Changes Within System**  
*25000149 Budapest TISZATAJ in Hungarian  
No 1, 1988 pp 93-102*

[Interview with National Assembly Representative Zoltan Kiraly, by Tibor Szabo: "The Entire System Must Be Renewed...."]

[Text] Zoltan Kiraly is a young personality in our political life. He became a representative in the last election; before that he was known in Hungary as a Szeged-area

television editor-reporter. His activities as a representative, and his performance in Parliament soon attracted public attention. Today he is one of the most colorful personalities in the National Assembly.

[Question] Already in the 1960's Gyorgy Lukacs said that economic reform must be accompanied by political reform. Ever since then many say many things in many ways about the relationship of economic and political reform in general—of the contents of political reform.

[Answer] It is apparent that economic and political reform cannot be rigidly separated. I mentioned this fact the way I did in my parliamentary remarks because I felt that the implementation of economic reform is indispensable, and that it cannot be realized without reforming the political institutional system. It is equally apparent that there is no full meeting of the minds in this respect. As the past twenty-some years proved, there always were forces which tried to realize economic reform while leaving the political institutional system unchanged. Things simply do not work that way, however. The two must go together, and this may be one of the important findings of scientific assessments regarding the past two decades. Still today there are forces which would fully reject this idea, or would narrow its applicability to the modernization of political institutions closely related to economic reform. This, however, does not work either, because the political institutional system is a whole, which is divided into sub-systems, and these sub-systems (e.g. councils) cannot be modernized selectively without taking into consideration their relationship with the remaining sub-systems. Accordingly, the entire system requires renewal, not only certain elements of the system.

[Question] I believe that as of recently there is general agreement on the need to reform the political institutional system as a whole. This is being stressed nowadays even within the party. The question is to what extent will the forces you mentioned permit modernization, and further, how deep political reform should reach.

[Answer] Something else that relates to what I have said before is that after all, it was always the party that initiated openings. There always existed good resolutions, but in many instances these resolutions remained empty slogans and declarations. And when something actually was about to happen, then suddenly we experienced cramps and said that "this is not the way we wanted it to happen." This is the situation we should transcend. We should transcend the paternalistic mentality and practice. The need for socialist democracy and the modernization of the political institution is not something that comes about by the grace of the leadership, but instead is a natural part of social development. How deep should political reform go? The entire structure must be changed, the way I see it. It must be changed while taking realities into consideration: the change must take place along with a single-party system which is going

to survive for quite some time to come, even though it would be conceivable to have a political institutional system based on a multi-party system.

[Question] In theory, this is not out of question.

[Answer] Yes, after all there are practical examples for such systems in other socialist countries, but just how those systems function is yet another question. This also proves that it is uncertain whether a multi-party system would be a good solution. There can be democratic social order in a single-party system, one that is based on broad public interestedness. On this basis, however, it is beyond doubt that if we begin to change and to modernize our political institutional system, that process must begin with the party. This should take place by virtue of realizing a new practice and a new work-style. This appears like a change in work-style rather than in the system, nevertheless I feel that this kind of change would be substantive. Let me give you an example. Almost daily, party leaders use the expression: "broadening socialist democracy." At the same time, party democracy is not real democracy. I am living through this also as a party member, or, perhaps I should say I am not surviving this. Why? The idea contains a fundamental contradiction. Prior to its various actions the party consults and reconciles interests with the PPF, the National Council of Producer Cooperatives [TOT], and with the women's council—but not with the party membership. Is this proper? This is no longer a question of work-style. It signals a kind of contradiction, a shift in the functioning of the institutional system.

[Question] This actually constitutes deformation, in the sense that at various levels within party organizations and institutions one can sense the presence of a certain bureaucratic work-style, one which should be first on the list of things to be modified.

[Answer] Precisely. Whenever we speak of the formal functioning of Parliament, we should not forget just how formal [party] membership meetings are. And they are boring and meaningless. Following meetings we go to the corridor or to the street corner or to the club, and there we hear marvelous debate. There is no substantive debate and nothing happens at party membership meetings, because we do not feel that our opinions are taken seriously, and because some city and county party dignitaries are present.

[Question] Obviously, perhaps this should be changed first.

[Answer] Yes. And this is another reason why I feel encouraged by what comrade Kadar had to say at the September session, namely, that the party's leading role should prevail in a different manner. This is an indispensable condition for the modernization of the political institutional system. That leading role must receive an appropriate meaning and it must change as compared

to what we had before. It must become a truly orientational activity, not a direct, operative interference by virtue of direction, what it has been so far. Whenever I hear that a certain CC division having jurisdiction, or the director of one of its subdivisions has directed one or another ministry or minister, that shows what has become of the leading role. Because what I hear amounts to direct, command-type direction.

[Question] In this situation we should really be talking about party hegemony, about the fact that the party should have a leading role, and not about an exclusive function of ruling.

[Answer] This is also why I advocate that the primary issue is party democracy, the party's leading role, because a change reaching to the merits of a change in the institutional system can be perceived only in this way. Affected in such change are the party's relationship with social mass organization, the relationship between the party and the state, as well as the party and the National Assembly.

[Question] If we follow this line of thought the following question arises: how could one perceive for example the harmonization of the interests of the party and of the government? It is apparent that the government has its conceptions also, and therefore reconciliation of interests presents itself as an important issue.

[Answer] Yes, but in order to accomplish such reconciliation of interests the intertwining between the party and the state should be reduced. Let's consider the fact that at least two thirds of the cabinet are also members of the CC—although I cannot recall the exact number now. Three members of the cabinet are members of the Political Committee, another served as the CC secretary before—in other words, there is complete linkage, and I am not aware of any cabinet member who is not a party member. It is apparent that if membership in the political committee and in the CC demands increased [party] discipline, then these individuals, as members of the cabinet, are obliged to abide by that increased discipline. In the event that the discipline is inappropriate, flawed or leads to the wrong path, then these individuals may be in conflict even with themselves. This conflict can tie them into knots. But one cannot dance when tied into knots. I consider the present situation as excessive. This intertwining will not lead to a hegemonic role, it is not based on the idea of a hegemonic role, instead it induces and enables a far more forceful, direct management. Somehow these two things should be separated. I don't know how, because certainly there are various ways and means by which this can be accomplished. One thing, however, appears to me as obvious. The present situation requires independent governmental actions and policies—actions and policies for which the cabinet can be held responsible primarily by the Parliament. It is equally wrong that in today's practice the first thing we find is a political decision, and the various state and

cabinet organs do not seek ways to complement political decisions with alternative recommendations, but instead try to find ways to explain the political decision. There are no real alternatives.

[Question] Could we say that bringing to an end this intertwining would motivate the cabinet to accomplish more self-inspired action? And this, of course, applies equally to other political institutions and organizations also.

[Answer] Inevitably. To have autonomous institutions and organizations with their own spheres of responsibility, decision-making and interest-channeling functions is indispensable. Only such communities and organizations are capable of truly conveying interests. The interests of the party, or more appropriately, the interests surfaced by the party may carry more weight. But actually it is the government, and through the government, it is the Parliament which could and should have the function and role of surfacing and reconciling various interests. It is there that diverse interests are weighed and at the same time clashed in the heat of debate. This is how a consensus could be achieved. This could represent the prevalence and at the same time the clashing of two great spheres of interest, one manifested by the party, and the other in Parliament, the latter reflecting the interests summarily held by various other social groups and strata. This arrangement could reflect at least two, periodically diverse alternative expressions of interest. I feel that we are undertaking an impossible task if we leave all this to the party, because the party alone is incapable to accomplish this. And besides, this is not a fortunate arrangement because [the party] is inherently committed to represent and to speak for working class interests. This is what [the party] should openly accept responsibility for, while not surrendering its leadership role but sharing it, and the rest should be left to organs that represent interests. The government should be given the responsibility of making independent judgments while taking these differences into consideration.

[Question] This idea has been detailed in the framework of political science recently. These are the problematics of a political society versus a civilian society. One would become the political decision-making mechanism of the state, the other of the "civilian" sphere, the latter gaining increased significance in the future. My next question would be this: what opportunities do you, as a National Assembly representative, recognize for including the National Assembly, as one of our most important political institutions into the process of modernizing the political institutional system? What do you recognize as the prime candidate for reform within the National Assembly?

[Answer] To accomplish this, the initial approach does not really require reform. All that is needed in practice is to permit the National Assembly to sustain and to exercise the entitlements granted to that body by the constitution—as defined in the agenda, even in the latest

agenda which placed some limitations on the exercise of those entitlements. In other words, the National Assembly should be permitted to exercise [what it was empowered to do]. I am aware of some instances when representatives were not permitted to raise questions, perhaps not allowed to comment, and there may be other situations also. A mild pressure is being exerted regarding one or another issue—to do this or that, or to do it in a different way, or to do it in a way the political sphere would like to have it done. In other words, they should permit the existence of independent, sovereign individuals, of representatives delegated by the voters, and to allow them to express themselves accordingly. On the other hand, the other alternative would be—and this is the alternative I would choose for the National Assembly to follow—to actually exercise control over the cabinet, and since we have already mentioned that there is a full linkage between the highest party and the highest state functions, and the party's direction of the cabinet is sufficiently strong, I would say that the [National Assembly] should serve to counter-balance the situation, as long as there is no multi-party system. Accordingly, the National Assembly would not function as another party, but by all means as a counter-balance and as an institution that exercises control. So far as I am concerned it would appear that self-control, self-evaluation and self-criticism, all of which characterize the party's work thus far, does not function properly. Up to a certain point it does, but beyond that point it leads to functional disturbances. It is also for this reason that I consider it as important to increase the role of the National Assembly as a body, as an institution. In this context it would be very important to change some matters that function differently in present practice, such as the excessive role of the Presidium, etc. The division of labor should be more substantive, and the entitlements that have been granted should be returned to the National Assembly. There should be a new definition of what the National Assembly actually does, what is within the exclusive authority and jurisdiction of the National Assembly, and what belongs to the Presidium. This reform should also include the reform of the legal standing of representatives.

[Question] What does that mean in reality? Do you consider it as necessary that representation become a primary [full time] occupation?

[Answer] Representation cannot be accomplished in an amateurish way. I am convinced that the job of representation should be pursued professionally, as a primary occupation. I am aware of the fact that there are many who oppose this idea, nevertheless, on the basis of my own practice I can say that this is what should be done. Not only because representation as a primary occupation would yield greater respect for representatives or for the function of representation, but also because in this way the National Assembly would be able to actually perform its function. This idea can be supported easily. The entire system is built on voting districts, an awful lot of people seek out their representatives. And besides, the

representative must consider and represent the interests of the city, must participate in the meetings of the city council, must maintain relations with tenant committees, the PPF, and party committees in his own district as well as in county council and in [legislative] committee sessions. Also the latter should be taken more seriously. A representative should not only attend the meetings of parliamentary committees of which he is a member, but also other committee meetings in which important matters are discussed at a certain point in time. This is what I am doing at present. (But what are those things that could be important for a representative?) I'll be present when something important is discussed in the Foreign Affairs Committee, so that I can express my opinion or even propose something. At most, I will not be able to cast my vote regarding these matters, but that's a different question. But as long as I have said what I wanted to say, I can carry the issue further, to the National Assembly session. In this way all the committees could perform their duties in a more substantive manner. It is apparent that as a result of reform, one cannot condense National Assembly sessions into several day-and-a-half sessions. They cannot be condensed into several days either. Parliamentary work must be continuous. I would consider it as important to witness the formation of other types of groups in Parliament—other types, as compared to what we have now, meaning that we have no other types of groups. At present there exists only one party faction, and that faction is not substantive either, because it functions by and large within formal constraints. [In contrast,] quite obviously, professional representatives would form some other groupings. Under the present circumstances I established for myself a certain independence, and with that I follow my best conscience and try to obtain information from many places and sources. This kind of work is ultimately also the characteristic of the journalism and television trade. Thus, I have no interest-relationship with, or commitment to any kind of informal grouping.

[Question] If this were to function in the manner you describe it, a full-time representative would require a supportive apparatus which would be able to analyze and to study materials being prepared, if such materials are received by representatives in a timely fashion (I do not know the present situation in this respect, but I would be curious to learn), and would prepare [alternative] proposals which perhaps would modify proposals submitted.

[Answer] This would be part of a representative's work. At present no one expects a representative to do substantive work. Moreover, they want and expect representatives to form nice groups which express respect, praise and only little criticism, groups that perform only a semblance of work so that in the end it is revealed how nice and how good everything is. Put in simple terms, even today the practice is this: "we will accomplish all this, you just hold day-and-a-half sessions." I do not believe that this can go on. On the other hand, in order for representatives to receive materials, and to work

independently and with a real sense of responsibility, we would require an information data base which eliminates the haphazard manner in which the representatives prepare themselves. The situation is beginning to improve; what we also need is established connections which enable us to acquire professional knowledge concerning given subjects. An independent, full-time representative having a specialized staff to rely upon, is in a position to initiate substantive laws. Either individually, or collectively with a certain group of representatives. As it stands now representatives have not much say in molding the annual legislative program. Theoretically speaking of course, I could take some initiatives, and could make recommendations concerning the daily agenda. But how? How would I dare to do that when the ministries have figured out already what should be proposed. I am not saying that there should be a complete turnaround in this respect and that representatives should be the only ones to make proposals. All I'm saying is that representatives or groups of representatives should not be excluded from the opportunity to initiate and to follow through with such initiatives, if they so desire.

[Question] At present there are no groupings in the National Assembly based on identical expressions of interests. Nevertheless, are such groups evolving informally in Parliament?

[Answer] There is nothing of that sort.

[Question] Thus these shared interests cannot meet, and the formulation of a common stance is impossible.

[Answer] That's how it is. The fact is that as long as we meet four times a year for one-and-a-half day sessions, such groupings cannot even evolve. Not even common thought can evolve. Not even the county group of representatives provides a community of interests or of thought. It cannot happen, because real representation is not based on [geographical] areas—that too takes off in the wrong direction. In my experience the county groups of representatives organized themselves in order to provide top level direction to representatives. In this manner one can tell who wants to speak, perhaps what he wants to say, in other words, the representatives can be better controlled. This is the essence of these groupings. In contrast, it would be desirable if groups which embody and represent interests would organize. This could also be called factionalizing. Many eyebrows would be raised in hearing this, because of the adverse connotation attached to the term [faction]. The outlines of such grouping(s) are beginning to emerge, but I am saying this in very conditional terms. And for the time being this kind of grouping goes on, or will go on only on the basis of friendship and thinking together, if it comes about at all. I can envision the forming of such groups in the National Assembly in a manner similar to the way MSZMP member factions come about. This is the only faction at present, and the faction is convened mostly when there are personnel changes and they are asking us

to vote for them. Because it is beyond debate that this is all we're talking about, nothing more. And the same way those outside of the party are convened, and also the PPF people say things, but I don't know what because I haven't been there yet. But I do not consider these as factions. We could organize ourselves in this manner, except for the fact that in such case it should be openly stated that there exists an MSZMP faction, an outside-of-the-party faction, a church faction, or even a so-called group of independents. This too is conceivable, it is a possibility, it is one of the alternative solutions. It would be better than what we have today: a gray mass periodically enhanced by colorful personalities.

[Question] This arrangement would certainly enliven parliamentary work.

[Answer] Of course, but this too is conceivable only if National Assembly sessions amount to more than four times two days.

[Question] Is there a functional mechanism within the National Assembly which you believe would be worthy of reexamination and change?

[Answer] Some problems with the rules of Parliament have emerged already. The new rules do not function less than one year following the modification of rules. Most likely, the rules were modified because they found out that at the conclusion of a Parliament the rules would accomplish what they were supposed to do, and this did not suit everyone. This can be accurately pinpointed in the context of limiting the most fundamental right of representatives, that of interpellations [holding cabinet officials accountable]. Namely, to say that "a representative may question [cabinet officials] only" (these are the exact words contained in the rules) if he discovers the violation of law or the implementation of laws at an inappropriate time or in an inappropriate manner, amounts to a limitation. This is a limitation, even if in earlier days questions which had not much to do with this legal institution were raised, but even then, no one has the right to impose such limitation. At the same time I must add that half-hearted interpellations could have existed because no one undertook to make real interpellations. Because these persons were dissuaded from the beginning, or because they could have gotten into trouble. Accordingly, the right to make interpellations must be returned, not limited. If the National Assembly organizes itself in a different manner, if the representative indeed knows what his job is and actually performs that job, then he will also know the issues which should be subject to interpellation. I have no particular problem with the institution of the "simple question" either, because in and of itself it supplements interpellations well. But even the "simple question" can work only during longer parliamentary sessions. On occasion, like for instance when the Finance Minister is present throughout the morning or throughout the afternoon during a session and one can question him—questions which need not be the subjects of extended debate. These

are questions and answers. Given this right, representatives will prepare themselves to ask these questions, and if 25 representatives ask questions from the Finance Minister, then the entire session should be spent on 25 representatives asking questions, and the Finance Minister should respond. And then he will either be bood out, or applauded. But interpellation is something different. One should be able to make interpellations regarding any matter, independently. Interpellations should be permitted to the extent that they could even force a minister to resign! And the other matter is the duration of sessions. There should be no one-and-a-half day sessions. The present constitution and even the rules state that the National Assembly should meet as necessary, but at least once a year. This is the foundation of the present practice, nevertheless we need more than that. I truly hope that we will witness the practical accomplishment of having substantially longer sessions. In order to accomplish that, however, we must reshape our entire outlook. During the June session, responding to one of my suggestions to the effect that we form a special committee to develop an alternative cabinet program, and that we hold an additional session during the summer in which we debate the analysis of the past and the program proposal [advanced by the special committee], one of my fellow representatives said that my suggestion indeed was very good, but if the President of the National Assembly would put the idea up for a vote, the idea may fail on grounds that it was summer, and everyone was vacationing. The representatives would vote against it. If this is the answer, and if this is so particularly with respect to an important matter like the cabinet program, then this signals that some of the representatives do not require more than what we have today. In my judgment we should by all means transcend this lack of expectation. And there is yet another issue in this regard: for a number of reasons the constitution should be changed. Along with more substantive legislation, and more substantial sessions one could significantly limit the Presidium's jurisdiction. I could also put it this way, of course: we could make radical limitations, and could provide as much authority as possible to the National Assembly.

[Question] A question arises here: given such political reform, what role would organizations like for instance the PPF have alongside the National Assembly? Thus far the PPF actively stressed that this kind of political reform is by all means necessary. They have put together a recommendation entitled "Turnaround and Reform." What is your opinion in this regard?

[Answer] I have great respect for the idea supportive of the PPF, and for the present PPF itself. Our present-day social fermentation is made possible to a certain extent by the fact that simply, the PPF is the only political organization, which, by virtue of its appropriately lax framework was able to produce a new program, on grounds that it has integrated within itself all kinds of views and was able to stand up vis-a-vis bureaucratized political practice. It became a place where reform ideas

could organize as counter-weights and acquire a forum. In my judgment, all this evolved in the proper direction, because it represents a kind of control over the political leadership and the party. And this is why quite a few leaders did not and do not like it, but one must count on that in the future also. The PPF can continue to go off in many directions, in the long run, for instance, the PPF could serve as the platform for a so-called people's party based on the intelligentsia. The seeds of this can be found in the people's front movement, and this would take place if we were thinking in terms of a multi-party system. It could attract a variety of views, and would continue to provide a framework for such views. Within the single-party system it could become more political, because from time to time it is forced to take off in directions other than the party's directions. E.g. when the PPF supports association endeavors, friendly circles, etc. These should be allowed to continue as self-organizing communities. The PPF could, of course, deal with these endeavors also, but only marginally. They should not carry the kind of weight as they now have. As long as there is no law of association, the PPF will obviously take such endeavors under its wings. Even though under present conditions it would be more important for the PPF to provide for the political representation of those who think otherwise, or, for instance, for the churches. It should do so more obviously than it does today, within a framework established by law.

[Question] In your view, how is the PPF political reform conception present, how is it represented in political public life and in public opinion?

[Answer] It is not really part of public political thought. At a time when "Turnaround and Reform" becomes a "samizdat" in Hungary, because a few individuals prohibit the PPF to distribute it, one should not wonder why reform ideas defined by the PPF are not really part of the broader public opinion. Not to mention the fact that certain county and city PPF organizations are not the same as the PPF National Council. The PPF county and city organizations work in a county political environment under the party's direction. "County" power heavily suppresses the local PPF organs, reform ideas do not thrive that vigorously in the counties. They are talked about less, or they do not even reach the counties.

[Question] In this connection one may raise the issue of openness. I believe this is closely related to political reform, and in general to political democracy.

[Answer] Yes. Regarding this issue, even if I do not hold a separate opinion, I am rather embittered, because despite the semblances there exists stringent centralization, a central direction insofar as information dissemination and openness is concerned. Because of this, or, perhaps, in spite of this there is confusion and chaos: information is being exchanged independent from direct management. But this takes place not through the channels of openness, and therefore there come about pieces of semi-information, false information, distortions and

misleading information. Under such circumstances journalists cannot command real respect. Editorial self-censorship is functioning, because political censorship is functioning also. If a journalist reports bad news, they will not examine whether the news is true, and they will not punish the criminal. It is the messenger who is going to be penalized. I myself have lived through an embarrassing situation like this. While I knew that I was correct, or rather: I knew that the subject of my reporting was true, I had to say something completely different. On occasion it gets this far. And it goes so far, that we cannot speak up when Chernobyl happens, not even with respect to local implications, because speaking up is prohibited at times from above, at times locally. The greatest trouble is that these prohibitions do not take place in the open. They come by way of telephone conversations, leaving no written record. Censorship presents a clear-cut situation. What exists, or at least has existed in Poland, where the censor's rubber-stamp shows the intent, presents a clear-cut situation. In Poland I would know what I can, and what I cannot say. In our situation there is uncertainty. Accordingly, it is this uncertainty that renders the information system inadequate. It is obvious that I know what kinds of fears exist and what prompts those fears. Except for the fact that in part, it would be beneficial if at last, this society would be viewed as sufficiently mature to be able to accept and to manage any kind of publicly emerging theory, view or opinion, and, in part, if the opportunity for society accepting and managing such matters would be established. This translates into the functioning of several kinds of media workshops within legal limits, with independent publishers who place their own money at risk, and with independent, truly responsible editorial offices. Regarding anomalies in the realm of information dissemination, let me mention just one example from Szeged, adding to the example that I am convinced that in a case involving several papers, DELMAGYARORSZAG could have collapsed as a result of the situation. Everyone will recall Richard Richter's running amock in the Csillag prison. That happened on a Friday. By the time I got home Friday evening, I heard that the prisoners in Csillag prison revolted. By Saturday word spread throughout the city, everyone knew what had happened. DELMAGYARORSZAG, of course, did not mention anything either on Saturday or on Monday. Eight days after the event DELMAGYARORSZAG printed an MTI report describing what actually happened, and 21 days later the investigating police officer issued a statement to the paper. This incident accurately shows how things are in the realm of information dissemination, and I believe that the situation is still depressing.

[Question] What opportunities for changing the present situation do you see, things which by all means need to be reformed?

[Answer] We would have to place the press law on the agenda once again. We would have to frame a better press law. According to the present press law the state administration arbitrarily decides what it permits and

what it does not permit. The establishment of papers is not a subjective right. At present, irrespective of who owns a paper or what kind of profile it has, all papers are somewhat identical. Perhaps as of recently it became noticeable that there exists some differentiation, and that within individual editorial offices the outlines of characters took shape. But these changes are not completely following the pattern provided by some essential elements. The differentiation is still directed from the top, and, of course, there exists some change in profile as a result of a certain kind of editorial independence. Reform would include an actual change in practice, and the definition of a paper's profile by its publisher. It is he, of course, who would have to finance the paper. Because another thing that is wrong today is that claiming paper shortage, a newspaper can be terminated by the stroke of the pen, and it is possible not to grant permission for the establishment of a newspaper on grounds that there is no paper. At the same time, an abundant source of paper exists for a whole lot of other purposes. This represents a totally subjective determination of matters—it is dangerous and hinders structural change with respect to openness. The other matter is that direction should be changed by all means. The founding of newspapers should be made easier, they should encourage the formation of workshops, so that various views attracted by various newspapers obtain public (political) forums.

[Question] During the latest parliamentary debate one could observe that in general, activities in public life have increased. This took place not only in regards to the parliamentary session. The people's interest in public life and in the present social, economic and political conditions is becoming invigorated. Insofar as this political system is concerned, to what extent is there a need for people to actively participate in the reform process? What is your view?

[Answer] Perhaps it is inappropriate to raise this question in the form of whether there is a need for people to express opinions, to take part in public life, because this is not a matter of subjective decision. People will take part in public life if the political institutional system permits and makes it worthwhile. The trouble is that thus far this matter was qualified at the top—they even expressed views according to which our public opinion is not sufficiently politicized. It is this situation that prompted a statement according to which our people are not sufficiently mature for democratic politics. In the end, necessity produced a situation. What I am talking about pertains to Ivan Boldizsar's statement at the parliamentary session: the people have moved, because there is something at stake. There is something at stake for the people, as well as for the country. Compared to what is at stake, the four-day session was still insufficient. The real thing would have been for the National Assembly to convene, to begin debating, and meanwhile I could return to my voting district and discuss and argue the issues with the people in more detail. Then the session would continue. It could extend, let's say, for two

weeks and meanwhile the issues could be weighed, small groupings would emerge, anyone could express his opinion, including the PPF, the union, the women's council, and I would either support or not support those opinions, nevertheless this practice would have enabled me to comment on the basis of what I learned. In other words, debate would reach more to the merits of the issues. Because what we have at present is that many have stated their opinions, but there was no real debate. There were some who have prepared themselves for the occasion and were able to reflect upon what others had to say, then reinforced the other person's conception or opposed it. Still, this does not constitute real debate. I am not misled by such things. Irrespective of how many persons tell me how nice this was: it was indeed nice, but let us not get intoxicated. There really was something at stake in this session, and it is for this reason that public opinion showed a great interest. We, the representatives also have something to do with continuing this way in the future.

[Question] I asked this question also because I know that stemming from the economic program, differences in political opinion emerged among broad strata of the people. I feel that these economic problems reinforce differences in political view. What are your experiences in this respect, based on your conversations with voters?

[Answer] I would rather say that certain extremes were defined. But I credit this to the fact that thus far people were not permitted to talk. The authoritarian principle prevailed. Authority vanquished all other opinions and views, and permitted expression of such opinions and views only within formal limits. As a result of this practice and because of the present difficulties we are experiencing uncertainty among the people, and therefore certain extremes are voiced. I have met with my constituents rather frequently, and therefore I can say that there are very few extremes. There are, of course, divergent views also, after all we also have those who "think differently," or religious people with whom we can peacefully coexist, if we accept the thesis that all our joys and troubles must evolve and take shape in the framework of a socialist Hungary. I believe that this should serve as an acceptable basis, and on this basis any kind of view or difference can find its place and be built. Along with citizens who grew up with a political culture, we also must have a colorful variety of public political thought and public life.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12995

'The Crisis of Hungarian Socialism'  
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[Article by Laszlo Gyurko]

[Text] Hungarian socialism is not an ideal or a principle: it is a path which Hungary has travelled for four decades.

Hungarian socialism is experiencing its second crisis. The first one occurred in 1952-1953, immediately following its birth.

The crisis of Hungarian socialism also represents a social and individual crisis. It has its beginnings before it surfaces and becomes part of consciousness. In and of themselves severe mistakes, or even sins do not create crises; crisis is the ultimate developmental point of a complex process; the length of time it takes before it becomes obvious depends on circumstances.

The tragic sin of the first crisis began with the Rajk trials in 1949. The incubation period was short because of the severity of causes that created the crisis, among other factors. The opportunity for a way out from the crisis was defined in 1953, but the heterogeneous nature of the program, the putting off and later the asphyxiation of the program, and the continued survival of the underlying causes escalated the crisis and turned it into bankruptcy. In 1956 Hungarian socialism was sustained only as a result of external force.

The 1950's crisis evolved as a result of autocracy, distorted ideals, distorted practices and dissension among people, disharmony between theory and everyday life, the forcing of principles which had not yet taken root, total disregard for the nation's heritage, and global tension created by enemies as well as brothers, just to mention a few of the causes. Bad policies broke in half the unprecedented uplift manifested by Hungarian society for a few years.

During the initial years of Hungarian socialism external factors played a determinant role. But through their actions, internal forces contributed more than what is sometimes called the misery of small nations or the geopolitical situation to the failure of the path that was to lead out of the crisis, or perhaps to make the path fail. The path that began in June 1953 and ended in November 1956 demonstrated primarily the bankruptcy of Hungarian socialism.

The 1987 crisis is fundamentally different from that of 1953. At most, one could establish that the rootlets of our present troubles find nourishment also in the unresolved or superficially resolved problems of the 1950-s. Although the soil had been disinfected, the pathogens survived, if for no other reason because they were not recognized as such. And the initial, unforgivable sins of the new social order produce lack of confidence even in these days.

The causes of the 1987 crisis may not be found in global tensions, in violations of law, or in forced dogmatism. Today's Hungary is not built on ruins and it is not trying to lift itself out of general misery. [Unlike in 1953,] at the time the 1987 crisis took shape, Hungary registered something more than the earlier revolutionary upswing,

which lasted for a 2-3 year period only. In the 1980's Hungary has already enjoyed a decade of development which seemed as virtually steady. And yet a crisis evolved.

The crisis represents a durable process of clashing goals, principles and expectations on the one hand, and reality and unfulfilled opportunities on the other. It also represents a crack grown into an abyss between plans and promises on the one hand, and desires and the everydays on the other: the structure that evolved does not meet the requirements, and is incapable of effectively formulating reality.

The miserable post-1956 consolidation produced a consensus of the nation and the leadership, an economic reform, and the first institutionalized attempt for the structural renewal of socialism. By the 1970's, however, judging by the economic reform one could sense that economic reform alone could not be achieved without exchanging the social and political structure also. At that point it was not only the fact that social and political structural reform did not take place, but rather that they put the brakes on, and stopped economic reform also. The goals lost their value because they did not emerge within everyday life, mistaken forms of conduct evolved and became attractive, welfare became the centerpiece of the value system, and the crisis matured when the validity of increased welfare was brought into question. The socio-economic structure was unable to prompt people to act.

This is the cause of the crisis of Hungarian socialism. The economic crisis, generally viewed as the cause, is not. An overemphasis on economic difficulties—not in the economic sense, but in the ranking of causes that brought about crisis—temporarily veiled and made us forget the essence of the trouble, nevertheless it had a decisive role in instilling the crisis into the public consciousness. The one who believes that public mood is a function of the people's wallet is mistaken, but in Hungary the continuously improving financial conditions have come to be recognized as a fundamental citizen right, irrespective of economic conditions, results and achievements at any given point in time. During the 1960's and 1970's, and even in the early 1980's an overwhelming majority of the people climbed higher and higher on the Hungarian welfare ladder. People began to have doubts when they suddenly ran out of further steps. They became uncertain and desperate.

The crisis may be traced to the fact that wages were inconsistent with performance. This represented a fundamental departure from a thousand years of human tradition: aside from privileges, income has been a function of work activities ever since ancient times. This also represents a departure from the basic principle of socialism, according to which everyone would share the benefits produced according to his labor.

Ever since the new social order came into being, the endeavor to achieve equality—a tenet which is part of the socialist ideological system—was overemphasized. In the Soviet Union, at the beginnings of Soviet rule, compensation paid to the highest leaders did not exceed the wages of a good skilled worker. In Hungary, as a result of the first wage reorganization since liberation, the wages of unskilled laborers were raised, while those of trained and white collar workers were reduced. These processes nurtured within the socialist movement the ideals of innate selflessness and puritanism, while in other cases they supported the political consideration of gaining the support of the poorest strata. Economic necessity also played a part in Hungary: in a country devastated by war the existential conditions for millions could be secured only by reducing the income of those who earned more. This practice became criminally distorted during the years when, from the standpoint of workers, increased production instantly turned into a command and obligation to produce more.

In one way or another: the game of equality has acquired deep roots in the nation's existence and consciousness. Expressly stated at first, later unspoken, higher earnings became a sin and a disgrace, or, from a different standpoint, amounted to the denial of socialist principles. The safeguarding of socialism from prosperity and inequality reflected itself in the debate on frigidaire socialism, in repeatedly inflamed tempers about household farms, in grudges against private enterprise and against white collar occupations which held out the promise of higher income. The leadership was unable to realize a system of wages which is proportionate to performances and societal utility; thus the immunity of income not supported by labor became the unwritten law. What could have been realized without any particular shock during the years of continuous upswing, could now be accomplished only at the price of severe tensions: a wage system which motivated people to produce would cast significant strata at or below the borderline of the existential minimum.

Lacking wage motivation, the worker who was becoming complacent became even more complacent (not in the physical sense of the term) as a result of the increasingly intricate web of economic subsidies. They subsidized certain goods, prices, plants, branches of industry, social strata, prices, consumption, individuals and age groups. A system of grants, preferences and sanctions flourished; for the sake of simplicity let us call this a system which attributes logic to organizing principles. Within the web of subsidies various viewpoints concerning society, the economy, power, and persons mixed. On various occasions these elements balanced or neutralized each other, or instigated one element against the other. An organizing principle is lost when the process can no longer be followed, it becomes impossible to separate the just from the unjust, the useful from the useless, the justified from the unjustified.

In reality, this structure did not have a system. Two fundamental elements may be discovered within the

structure: the leadership was intent on sustaining the protection of all, but it could do so only at the price of not granting the surplus to those who worked well—be they citizens or enterprises—while the shortage was made up for those who produced less.

In the vocabulary of this structure the term “bankruptcy” is akin to the word “hell” in the Bible, and thus a semblance was created according to which a social condition was accomplished in which not even hell threatened anyone. Having consolidated itself in the aftermath of 1956, Hungarian socialism reached an agreement with the nation concerning security and a balanced state of affairs. It was not willing to expose either individuals or communities of people to insecurities and to being endangered. Under the pretext of full employment the right to work was distorted into having a right to a workplace. The uneven pre-1956 legal relationship turned into its own opposite: in the 1950's state interests chained workers to workplaces. Beginning in the 1960's hundreds of thousands of citizens changed workplaces as best suggested by their own interests and moods, and the state, as a producer, had no chance of enforcing its own interests vis-a-vis the citizens.

Declarations to the effect that citizens and workplaces were protected nurtured complacency. This manifested itself not only on the surface, such as by workers and employees who conversed, drank beer or coffee and made personal calls during work hours, but also within the essence of socio-economic processes. The nation was unable to produce more; what it produced proved to be insufficient, and workers recognized that their share of the already insufficient production was continuously diminishing.

Thus there came about the situation of the fox that caught the pike or the pike that caught the fox. Citizens were dissatisfied with what they received on paydays, they became increasingly dissatisfied with the leadership which assumed the identity of the state, and the state which assumed the identity of the leadership. Citizens recognized this as the cause for not being able to establish circumstances and conditions in which they could perform in a more useful manner and thus work for higher wages. The state committed increasingly larger forces to the preservation of general security, and those who were less ready or able to act were viewed as an excess burden by the ambitious, who did not turn into driving forces. The result: the national interest of more efficient production was overshadowed by individual interest and by protection afforded equally to everyone. And the result of the result: this arrangement not only hindered the rationality of the structure, it did not satisfy the protected citizens either.

There existed a social stratum—one cannot determine its size, but it was sufficiently large not to permit disregard—for which sensible work and increasing accomplishments represented an existential necessity. The fact that societal utility did not pay dividends created a crisis

of values in one part of this social stratum. A majority of the members of this group felt that they were only bolts within a complicated piece of machinery which puts chains around their desire to act, and that they were unable to improve their work within the structure. It would be hard to imagine a careless, irresponsible, undisciplined person at the workplace becoming a reliable, thrifty, diligent and ambitious person at home. Alternatively, if that is possible, the contradiction between the individual, and the social lifestyle and ideal will be even stronger.

As a result of this faulty structure, work, materials, initiative, will and strength were down and out. And in places where the owner was wasteful, he also became indifferent. Property would go to the dogs. Without scruples, citizens expanded their free fringe benefits with goods carried home in their pockets and briefcases. The sanctity of personal property remained untouched, there did not evolve a sense of inviolability concerning public property, and this further reinforced the dividing line between the state and its citizens. Namely, workers arbitrarily reduced their work time: the already prematurely introduced five-day work-week shrank further. It may be presumed that the damage inflicted on social consciousness was more severe than the damage suffered by the people's economy.

Those with above average abilities, endeavoring to manifest their inclination to work and their preparedness to act in leadership capacities deserve separate attention. It was this stratum which should have become the nation's driving force. Beyond the already described difficulties that stemmed from subsidies, the leaders were confronting the Chinese Great Wall of prohibitive and restrictive regulations and obligatory rules. It is an open secret that results can be accomplished in disregard of legalities. The regulatory jungle is directly related to incomprehensible subsidies. With its right hand the state attempted to accurately regulate everything, while it used its left hand in an equally inconsistent manner. In vain was the old recognition made: every aspect of life, including the economy, has its own internal rules which cannot be violated with impunity. Accordingly, one cannot manage [the economy] merely by promulgating rules having the force of law. Lacking an appropriate structure, the principles will not turn into practice. With rare exceptions, the leaders either blended in with the pattern, or changed careers.

Only posterity can provide accurate analyses. The contemporary can only state results. The processes turned into a condition, a situation in which rendering a decision, acting, and the [exercise of an] active will became risky, and may be followed by failure and retribution. Conversely, lack of ambition, conformance, and the lack of desire to perform carried no risk. Inaction, and by the laws of nature, related mediocrity received green lights in plants, offices, at work benches, desks, and in the bosses' offices. It was primarily the sense of initiative,

thought, the spirit to improve, and the will to innovate that became complacent. Ambition was hindered by the lack of protection and motivation.

This structure was attacked from three sides. Continuous development presented continuous needs, and the needs produced shortages—a shortage of goods, a shortage of choice, and shortages in quality, speed, accuracy and reliability. In a paradoxical, but understandable manner this void was felt by consumers, who, in their capacity as producers were unable to fill these voids.

The number of those who felt a need to supplement their wages with other income also increased. Their activities were enabled by the shortages and by strength and energy not expended at the workplace.

"Maszek," the most primitive form of the second economy represented a rational and seemingly regular performance of work after work hours. A person wanting to work could obtain extra income as a result of extra performance. Some legalistic analysis however, demonstrates that irregularities already in the "maszek" practice. "Maszek" work means amateurish work, not, or not primarily, in the professional sense, but from the viewpoint of the state treasury. "Maszek" workers do not pay taxes. Some refined "maszek" work methods, such as working on one's own account during regular work hours, unauthorized work and the rest are even less legal. The income derived during regular work hours from and by the use of the employer's materials, machinery and tools ends up exclusively in the employee's pocket. The citizen inflicted damage upon the state, and the state did not do anything about it. Actually, the state was not in a position to do anything, because it would have been confronted with masses of citizens suffering from shortages and in need of additional income. And most important: the economic structure was unable to fill those needs.

The second economy becomes controversial in a different sense when a citizen reaches an exclusive agreement with another citizen. For long we have been accustomed to tips, but what is new in today's practice is that not even tips have anything to do with performance. Regardless of the courtesy or carelessness of the waiter, the cab driver or the hairdresser, he will receive a tip, because tips have been sanctioned by virtue of the social contract. This sanctioning had even more force, because the state built this private bargain into wages in trades which are subject to tipping. An even more tricky form emerges in the practice of paying for a person's authority to provide an advantage to one person, to the detriment of others, say, in the form of merchandise, hospital beds, expedited case-handling or benefits. At this point the second economy becomes intermixed with corruption, official bribery, and the possibility of official bribery. Still, this transaction involves two parties, even though it is based on an illegal agreement. The next form, however, is one-sided: a seller, a service-provider inflicts

damage upon the buyer or the client by short-weighing, over-billing, misrepresentation of quality, charging for work not performed, and demands for payment for materials not used.

All this is not unknown in other parts of the world either. The extent to which these practices are prevalent makes the difference ["the measure or the loss of measure makes the difference"], as a result of which the Hungarian worker who has already become complacent at the workplace increasingly turns into an over-burdened, over-worked citizen. It is estimated that half of all income earned has its origins in the most diverse fields of the second economy, and half of that represents invisible income, uncontrollable by any definition. Thus, from the outset, performance at the workplace is affected by physical and mental fatigue, and in particular the sense of initiative, inventiveness and zeal is diminished. At the same time, fragmented extra work which emerges like an underground stream cannot result in extra accomplishments on a national scale.

On the other hand, the second economy increased flexibility and the entrepreneurial spirit, and satisfied shortages. It also produced increased chaos. Not least in the areas of public morals and the societal order of values. The fine lines between good and bad, proper and improper, legal and illegal have been blurred. The concept of societal utility has lost its value. Society has sanctioned the fact that the gas station attendant earns more than university professors, the foreign trader or the minister. Public consciousness accepted the fact that to inflict damage upon a citizen is a sin, but to do so in regards to the state is not. We have come a full circle: in the interest of productivity business leaders were forced to cheat and violate laws, and citizens were forced—they forced each other—to steal, cheat, and to inflict damages upon each other, to use some coarse but clear-cut words. And the feeling of being forced by necessity provided absolution, it produced a semblance of impunity and erased the sense of responsibility. The protected citizen became unprotected, he was protected by being restricted, and he was not supported by the sanctioned regulators of laws, morals and customs which were based on the consensus.

The idea that an institutionalized way out was needed emerged at an early stage, already during the fifties. The political situation in those days made the rendering of this definition, and even the mutual discussion of alternatives impossible. Ten years had to pass before an economic reform plan emerged. The two decades that have passed since attest to the fact that from the outset, both the conceptualization and the implementation of economic reform were hindered and delayed, and that reform was dissimilar, wrought with traps and limited by taboos. Any society trying to realize an ideal must count on struggle, opponents, stops, contradictions, and lack of understanding. But in this instance there was more to it.

In the beginning—and this represents several long years—it was permitted or proper to discuss only the reform of the economic management system, while constantly stressing that no substantive change was planned. Only minor adjustments were to be made on the earlier structure. By the time the need for a fundamental reform of the entire economic structure became evident, brakes were applied to the process to an extent that it came to a virtual halt. And crisis set in by the time it became apparent that the entire social structure was in need for transformation, and that economic reform without such transformation could not be realized.

Many factors contributed to the delay of the reform process: political struggles, personal interests, intellectual complacency, bad ideology, and faulty recognition of situations. The strongest, most pervasive enemy presented itself in the form of egalitarianism—striving for security in the political and mental senses just as in terms of public consciousness. Stability, the greatest thing consolidation achieved became a burden under the changed conditions, because by sustaining stability it was impossible to renew it. There also appeared a peculiar night-blindness which disregarded the time factor—one cannot prolong for decades what needs to be accomplished in years, because otherwise the goal, the task loses its meaning and credibility. The fact that the idea of reform no longer mobilizes society is a consequence of this. For years the public mood has been tied to the deteriorating economy; awareness of the actual meaning of reform has diminished and depreciated, and many question the feasibility of, and need for reform.

One contributing factor is this: for many years one could only talk in secret about reform and the realization of reform. Such secrecy was demanded by internal forces which overemphasized continuity and denied the need for qualitative change. Within the community of socialist nations too one was supposed to characterize reform ideas as insignificant, amid excuses, cover-ups and more excuses to the effect that Hungarian reform was only a possibility, while repeatedly stressing that (one or another form of) reform was not the only way to renew socialism, and by saying that reform was a kind of peculiar Hungarian experimentation, almost like game. The nation—public thinking—was deprived of experiencing success, even though after a decade of stagnation, Hungary was the first in the world to begin re-thinking the socialist economic structure. Hungarians could have used this kind of rightful pride many times in the aftermath of the 1956 collapse. For this reason, the nation was more bitter than proud to recognize Soviet and Chinese attempts for reform, and Polish, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Yugoslavian and Vietnamese feelers, in which Hungary also played a part. Hungarian reform had an impact on the entire socialist world, at the same time, however, it was able to serve as the driving force for Hungarian socialism only temporarily.

This is so because the recognition that society is also in need of comprehensive reform was substantially delayed. The state of the nation, the public mood and its

feeling of general well-being is not dependent solely on economic conditions. Citizens also need prosperity, freedom and a purpose in life. In and of themselves these factors are not a final aim, each represents only a means and an opportunity for increasing one's ability and preparedness to act. Temporarily, any one of these factors may fill the void created by the lack of the other two factors, or may make one forget his lack of development. In the long run, however, the seeming harmony disintegrates and society suffers. And the three factors represent not only human needs, but also influence, molding the social structure. The frailty of the right to freedom hinders economic activities, the inexactness of goals hinders freedom, the absence of freedom distorts goals, a lack of clarity in expressing goals derails the economy, economic ills limit freedom, and so it goes.

Economic ills cannot be remedied by merely curing the economic mechanism; the undeveloped state of civil rights ["rights to freedom"] affects the general demeanor of citizens, reduces their preparedness to act or produces dissatisfaction and indifference. Freedom is a state of existence in which one knows that he is limited by virtue of rational rules, and that he can express his identity and personality by respecting those rules. A society may be deemed to be free if its citizens who are capable to act and to decide are not forced to live their lives according to alien standards, rules and ideals.

A citizen's extent of freedom is judged primarily by his participation in public life. And this kind of freedom has structure and mechanism, just like the economy has. The expansion of a citizen's civil rights depends on the extent to which the system in power is responsive to this task.

In Hungary there came about a peculiar form of state power. State and society are directed by the party—an organization which encompasses a minority of the citizens. Its leadership role is based on a brief sentence in the constitution, but it acquired legitimacy a result of practice, rather than institutional means.

All new societies nullify old legal orders, and it takes varying lengths of time before they form a new legal order, first in practice, then in laws and structure. From the beginning, within Hungarian socialism the dictatorship of those formerly oppressed was linked to, and mixed up with the autocratic exercise of power by the leaders, and both power factors were embodied within the party. Following the 1956 explosion this non-institutionalized power structure did not lead to severe conflicts only because appropriate policies did not deepen conflicts and contradictions, but resolved them instead. But the party's leadership role in directing the nation and all levels and areas of national life remained unchanged insofar as the direction's unbridled ["unregulated"] character is concerned. An uncodified management system is uncontrollable even from the perspective of those who direct it. The Hungarian party succeeded in avoiding tyranny, the greatest danger that flows from

uncontrollable power. The Hungarian party also recognized that the party itself must be its own opposition, but this principle remained a requirement only. There exists no institutional mechanism by which this kind of opposition can be controlled.

Party members comprise 10 percent of the population. It is difficult to say just what this means. The number is very small if it means that many citizens who actually accept socialist order. A 10 percent minority has a short leash by which it can lead a 90 percent majority. If the number represents so many persons united in action and willing to fight for the ideal and for the articulated goals, then the number is too large. An agreement among this many people is conceivable under balanced conditions, but it is inconceivable in times of crisis. Crises demand quick and determined action. In times like this shaky, inactive masses hinder the functional core in its action, and pull the core down into a state of mind in which it is incapable to act. This was one reason why in 1956 the party fell apart in a matter of days.

For all practical purposes, in Hungary people who profess to be communists may become party members. One can neither cast doubt over, nor control this matter. There is no way to measure the truth of this matter either, except in cases that stand out. It can be assumed only that a majority of the 900,000 party members joined out of conviction and also in the interest of their personal success. Probably, and the emphasis here is on the word "probably," as one may conclude on the basis of the past decades' spirit, those selflessly devoted to the ideal and the average careerists are in the minority. It would be inappropriate, however, not to recognize the fundamental motivating force of interest.

In and of itself party membership does not convey prerogatives, and it represents prosperity to an even lesser extent. But it assures a better opportunity for the one who strives to reach the top: in all walks of life party members occupy a decisive majority of leading positions. This requisite of political reliability has been out of date for long, nevertheless countless affirmations of the principle that any position may be filled by persons outside of the party have proved to be futile. Declarations are no substitutes for institutionalized regulation. In more accurate terms: the selection mechanism regulated by those authorized to make appointments contradicts the [declared] principle.

The party is not only a mass of 900,000 party members. It is also a hierarchical organization—a multitude of paid, mostly unelected officials. They are the ones who at every level direct the life of the state, of society and of the economy.

[In the party's context] the term "leader" means that one continuously participates in public life, that power represents the highest degree of a citizen's freedom, and that the desire to attain power is a rightful human need felt by those committed to society. Holding power is a social

privilege in the "citizen" sense of the term, because it provides greater opportunity for handling and deciding public issues. Thus it is understandable that there evolved an insistence to hold onto power; this is especially so within a structure in which the loss of power means failure, the loss of human and social respect and embarrassment.

The exercise of power is in the holder's interest even if the exercise does not produce any other advantage. Moreover, in a very peculiar way, the leader can enforce his own interest in the interest of society. The indefensible overlap of societal and personal interest is one of the greatest traps and dangers of power: the one who holds power may believe in all good conscience that whenever he defends his own interests he also serves the community. Thus, in the name of society he is able to reject reprobation, criticism and attacks leveled against him.

Power is also accompanied by prerogatives. It is not only the leader's right, but it is also his duty to distinguish people by securing positions for some, and providing better jobs, better income, better opportunities for others. It is the leader's right and duty to decide the manner in which benefits are distributed. It is not possible, nor is it permitted to withdraw from leaders the right to exercise individual discretion: this would encourage mediocrity. On the other hand, it is virtually impossible to distinguish personal opinion from arbitrariness. Achievements and effectiveness could be the best measures by which decisions made by the leaders could be judged, but as we have seen already, this idea cannot be enforced in Hungary. It is not enforceable particularly in the non-productive branches—this expression and the resultant practice being the cancer in the nation's body—where even the best of structures fail to demonstrate monetary results. And the non-productive sphere includes not only education and health care. It includes the power structure itself.

Hungarian socialism immunizes leaders just as it does the citizens. At the leadership level Hungarian socialism resulted not only in the slothfulness of preparedness to act, in Hungary it also resulted in the continued survival and reproduction of a deep-seated power mechanism of a feudalistic nature. During the past decades one could find the most sympathetic, puritanic kind of paternalism within the leadership system, last but not least with credits due to the principles and stature of Janos Kadar. In the absence of an institutionalized power structure paternalism was unable stand in the way of the widespread proliferation of the phenomenon of feudalism, which differs from the kind of corruption and abuse of power known all over the world. As long as there is power, some leaders are corruptible, because part of the citizenry needs the advantages that may be extended by power. The phenomenon of feudalism mixes the illegally sanctioned 20th century forms of bribery, fraud and intimidation with the mechanism interlaced by the rootlets of the spirit of "if you scratch my back, I'll scratch

yours," "my friend is your friend," "I give you some so that I have some," "we protect each other," "he is from our breed," and "the respected uncle," a spirit that is difficult to control by law. The power machinery may be controlled either by a viable legal system or by the people. It is yet another peculiar feature of Hungarian socialism that lacking a viable legal system, the people's will, which is not institutionalized, exercises inefficient control over power. Crisis is deepened by the fact that citizens, who in theory were brought up with the principle of equality, are increasingly protesting privileges—including just and justified privileges—nevertheless the citizens are unable to enforce their protests.

These few features of self-proclaimed laws that serve power draw attention to the fact that the development and regulation of the power structure is in the vital interest of Hungarian socialism. It is this development and regulation that will determine whether the most capable persons assume leadership posts, the extent to which the citizens' right to participate in providing leadership and to exercise control are enforced, and most importantly: the extent to which the people's preparedness to act in behalf of society is encouraged or discouraged. Within the administration of justice the overlapping structures of the police, the prosecutor and the courts did not evolve for reasons that more eyes can see more, or that viewed from a different vantage point the picture looks different. These overlapping structures evolved because within a developed mechanism these organs and processes become controllable. A functioning administration of justice provides assurance of legality, while the power-structure provides assurance for the state.

The party that directs society has its own mechanism, organizational structure, operational rules and election mechanism, but these are not obligatory with respect to the citizenry and accordingly, are not controllable by citizens. The party controls the state, the organs and organizations of society, as well as the economy, but these, in turn, cannot exercise supervision over the party. The people may control the party's policies, but there is no available mechanism for the exercise of this control. Turning against the party in a single-party system is synonymous with the rejection of the prevailing social order. These unclarified processes were reinforced within the party that enjoys a power monopoly, because, except for the highest level, power is in the hands of a hierarchical executive apparatus rather than of elected bodies. This, in turn, hinders the party members' viability for social action because their ability to act has been limited. Basic party organizations ceased to function as live communities, their membership was divided into three groups of leaders, one with opportunities for decision-making, another for taking actions, and a third one—the majority of the leaders—who bear hardly any influence on decisions, and are incapable to act.

From top to bottom, the party's institutional system parallels the state-council institutional system. The party apparatus is inadequate for practical direction. On the

other hand, it is oversized for the purpose of providing theoretical guidance. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the institutional systems of trade unions and of KISZ were built upon a similar organizational principle. At the highest levels, these organizations have a more or less regulated influence on decisions made by the state, but as a result of the unavoidable intertwining between the parallel structures of the apparatuses, their actual position of power is far greater than what has been sanctioned. By necessity, a self-defense mechanism has evolved to serve organizations of power which have grown together. Personal power thus enforced also helps the sanctioning of individual interests, and this manifests itself also in terms of subsidies.

Least clarified is the PPF's authority, jurisdiction and structure, even though that organization is supposedly speaking in behalf of all the people. The PPF has no membership, nevertheless its organs and officials are elected by god knows who. The citizenry has no institutionalized influence whatsoever upon PPF activities and cannot exercise supervision over the organization. At the same time, however, the PPF has a fundamental task assigned to it by the constitution: it nominates candidates to the National Assembly as well as council members, administers nominating meetings and elections, makes recommendations regarding the cabinet's composition—in other words, it seems that the PPF exerts a decisive influence on the composition of state leadership. The party has formally transferred some of its rights [to the PPF] which it could not transfer in reality as long as it wants to retain a leadership role in society. Thus there came about an organ which, on the basis of its rights and organization, represents a force of power, but is formal.

At the time when it was sensed that economic reform could not be accomplished without political reform, attempts were made to rethink the power structure and to establish more accurate delineations of power. Although in this area even the non-essential steps are important because the order of the state was clarified to a lesser extent than the economic mechanism, results so far had been meager. Some of the rigidity has loosened up, but the goal of achieving strength to act which can be freed up by granting civil rights ["right to freedom"] to the citizens was not accomplished. Neither does the state machinery function well on the highest level which bears an influence on the entire nation, nor does it work on the lowest level which is involved in matters pertaining to people's everyday lives.

Nomination of multiple candidates to the National Assembly provided a new stimulus to stagnating citizen consciousness, but was unable to offer resolution. The fundamental issue pertaining to Parliament does not rest in the realm of possibilities implicit in the nominating mechanism, nor does it relate to the voters' ability to choose from among unreal candidates, to the jurisdiction of the Presidium, or to the method by which interpellations are made—all this can be and must be improved.

The issue is that a body of men composed mostly of laymen, which convenes for eight to ten days a year, is unable to discharge the legislative function, review the activities of the Council of Ministers, of the ministries and of national organizations, and represent the everyday interests of the electorate. A small increase in the number of days the National Assembly convenes would not resolve this issue either: a substantive change can be perceived only in the context of a different structure. A permanent and effective control over policies can be provided only by full-time representatives.

It is an important indicator that direct representation through the council system does not function either, even though in theory the mechanism for councils has been worked out well. Elected council members hold only de jure power; their office has no rank, no prestige and no societal utility. All substantive decisions are made by the council apparatus whose activities are practically uncontrollable. If not even a well-regulated power mechanism is capable of functioning well, then a stronger structure will hinder its activities. In this case it is the organizational structure of the party, which, contrary to declared basic principles, does not labor on developing national policies, but instead acts as a guardian for executive organs, thus paralyzing their viability and sense of responsibility. Without saying so, this organizational order represents the idea that in every village, every district, every county there exists a local ideology, as well as economic, cultural and social policies which must be determined by local party organs.

An important part of the [overall] crisis is the crisis of incentives and life ideals. Humans beings are resolute, and the social order has its own objectives also. Everyday goals are formulated individually according to one's need, conception and structure, and their sense of freedom increases as they are less restricted in defining and achieving their goals. It was not only the increasing prosperity that contributed to the good disposition of the sixties and seventies. The fact that forced prohibitions were relaxed, that the state did not endeavor to interfere without justification in the private lives of citizens, that the everyday became significantly more free all contributed to that era of good feeling. This, in turn helped bring about an end to social prejudices and spasms. People dressed, had a good time, conducted themselves and spent their free time the way they wished, rigid inhibitions between the sexes relaxed, the phenomenon of pseudo-shyness diminished and so did pseudo-morals. Those in power no longer felt that citizens had to be sheltered from the effects of bourgeois civilization, culture and ideology. The borders were opened—a first in the socialist world. Those in power no longer worried about its citizens or the effects they may be exposed to, nor were they concerned that citizens would change their homeland or the society [in which they live]. The homeland once again became attractive to a 100,000 Hungarians living abroad, and the country to a million foreigners.

One's purpose in life is far more definitive than just everyday objectives. Lifetime goals have deeper roots; their effects are more lasting and more significant. They are related to societal goals, principles and practice. Under the old order citizens were taught to espouse lifetime principles in terms of god, homeland, family and property—these principles were nourished by social processes and institutional systems. These ideals have a legacy of several thousand years, at their depths they contain lasting, if not permanent values.

The new system denied god, private property as a matter of principle. In practice it diminished the value of the homeland and the family, and added internationalism to the triple ideal of equality, brotherhood and freedom. Equality, brotherhood and freedom are ancient human aspirations, even though they could be realized only to a small extent in society.

Despite all the knocks these ideals suffered in practice, the new value system defeated the old one; nevertheless it would be difficult to determine the extent to which the new values took root. Disturbance began when everyday practice, let alone severe distortions, began to raise doubts about the goals. Selflessness and willingness to sacrifice, which, for the sake of the future assigned a secondary importance to the present, diminished rapidly as it turned out that we would not be able to turn the world around by tomorrow. The vision of the future became increasingly dull, then vanished in the fog. In its stead the tangible, short-term present came to the forefront and everyday objectives overshadowed, then choked off the lifetime goals. Acquisition of property once again came to the forefront. Thought to have been buried, the reappearance of forms of property acquisition in new cloaks raised questions about taboos related to capital, exploitation and private property. At the expense of community and brotherhood, the family once again became the focal point. Insofar as freedom is concerned, only the freedom of the individual was realized, the freedom of the citizen was not.

From the beginning, public opinion was unable to deal with internationalist ideal. We are born into a nation, internationalism is learned through lessons taught by life. No use in having sound principles if they are not kept alive in practice. The Poles fighting in the Hungary of 1848 were internationalists, and so were the Hungarians who fought in Russia in 1918, and in Spain in 1936. By supporting principles espoused by other countries, they fought for their own national interest, as well as for a supra-national principle. A similar situation did not take shape in the framework of Hungarian socialism. The fact that socialism did not come into being on its own raised concerns: liberation also meant the nation's defeat in war. The silly copying of Soviet practice, the practice of guardianship exercised by the Soviet political sphere only aggravated the situation. In the aftermath of 1956 the Hungarian political sphere felt it necessary to declare that Hungary would not involve itself in the lives of other socialist countries, and that Hungary would not

even express opinions concerning other socialist countries. This declaration was made in Hungary's best interest—the country's freedom—nevertheless it fundamentally contradicted the principle of internationalism. At the same time, in principle Hungary had to accept fellowship with countries which violated not only the principles of socialism, but also the fundamental tenets of humanness. The situation was aggravated by the fact that Hungarians residing in other countries were exposed to a series of injuries which the Hungarian state could not remedy. Irrespective of whether caution was appropriate or exaggerated, only seldom did the Hungarian government publicly register its protest. The injuries suffered by the nation became increasingly painful. The number of those who viewed Hungary's fiascos as injuries inflicted upon the nation has increased, and a growing national consciousness and self-consciousness brought up nationalism to the surface, the most ominous disease in Hungarian history. In the absence of internationalist experience, new Soviet policies representing a long sought-after opportunity for a fundamental socialist renewal did not act as a determinant force in Hungary, even though Soviet success was in the existential interest of the socialist world, and within that, of Hungary.

Under the sheltered conditions of growing prosperity and individual freedom the leadership felt secure and became complacent. It dealt less and less, and in an increasingly superficial manner, with the examination of social ideals. Instead of analyses, the well-oiled, functioning machinery produced commonplace statements, and these slogans raised doubts and dissatisfaction. The leadership's spiritual strength waned, and its alertness became sluggish. The leadership failed to notice severe adaptation disturbances manifested by youth, and that a dissatisfied intelligentsia signaled a general crisis of values.

The concept of those "who think differently" came into being as a result of the superficial recognition of the situation. This designation presumes that there exists a unified nation which professes and follows identical purposes in life on the one hand, and a minuscule minority which thinks differently, on the other. The "minority" designation applied only to the active political opposition; subsequently, however, it embraced the largest variety of groups and trends, thus rendering the concept shoreless and unmanageable. Quite naturally, the opposition camp was thus expanded. Opposition was neither sanctioned nor prohibited, the rules of the game became incomprehensible. Things permitted one day were prohibited on the next, the right hand did not know what the left hand was doing. As a result of inconsistency, and due to inadequately considered goals and methods prohibitions boomeranged the same way as did permissiveness. No open debate was conducted with those whose views were tacitly tolerated. Such debates could have generated more thoughts. The spirit that was no longer used to debate had also become complacent.

The crisis represents watershed: it is followed either by bankruptcy, or by evolution. Moving forward from the

dead center may be postponed temporarily because of helplessness or in anticipation of better timing, but the crisis cannot be prolonged for an extended period of time.

Crisis also means that the country, the political sphere is moving on a forced track: there is no finished plan for evolution, there is no appropriate strength and means which could ensure [the success of] evolution, and the atmosphere is unfavorable. The crisis will deepen if it continues, the unresolved issues will deteriorate into infected wounds, apathy will produce an inability to act, and the inability to act will create hysteria, panic, and a mood which views the world as having come to an end. This process is nurtured by the fact that everyone seeks faults in others—the worker in economic management, economic management in the state, the state in the party, and the party in the global situation. Thus everyone absolves himself from the obligation of self-examination and a self-imposed change, while the crisis continues to roll without intervention toward bankruptcy, as if ordained by fate. Extremes always dominate in the vacuum of released tempers, will and intentions lose their roles, processes become unmanageable, then chaos and the total disintegration of order set in. Just what consequences a situation like this could draw cannot be calculated.

Increased tension also may result in the sudden liquidation of the crisis by cutting the Gordian knot. This solution appears as generally plausible under crisis conditions, and on occasion it becomes unavoidable. But this kind of surgery must be performed in a merciless fashion, with a tough hand, so that both the spiritual and the physical bones crack. Under these conditions all the achievements of Hungarian socialism during the past decades would be endangered, or would become secondary. And one cannot tell whether this method would resolve the crisis, or if the crisis would reproduce itself in a different form.

It raises concern that aside from the two extremes there is no other path for the nation to follow. This paper is presented because its author believes that in spite of bad omens there is yet another path. It is uncertain whether that path is passable and whether it leads to the intended goal. Only one thing is certain: we must start out on that path. Nothing is more dangerous in a crisis situation than delayed decision and action. The nation must recognize that bankruptcy is not an unavoidable stroke of fate, but instead it is a menace which must be fought. The leadership must recognize that renewing itself is the only way the crisis can be defeated. And everyone must recognize that our lifestyles must change if we want to get out of the swamp.

The fundamental principle to be understood by the nation and the leadership is that we are not dealing with a mere economic crisis. It was not poverty, but bad policies and a resultant nationwide disturbed consciousness that lead us to bankruptcy in 1956. The general

feeling of citizens today is far worse than their financial situation, which alone should prove that the problem we have is not primarily of an economic nature.

Another basic principle is that only the joint will of, and action by the people and the leadership will lead us to recovery. We must, however, get rid of the notion of having a semblance of unity—this kind of thinking belongs to the past, when the leadership was able to build a general agreement involving an overwhelming majority of the people. The leadership must make an assessment as to the kinds of strata and groups whose cooperation it can count on, whose opposition it must reckon with, and how large the inactive masses will be, and how heavily inaction will weigh. And most important: the leadership must learn not just to make its resolutions accepted, but instead to establish a structure which stimulates capable citizens to act. Maintaining silence or denying tensions and contradictions is folly. Their recognition may turn into a driving force.

Openness and publicity are indispensable. Those in power cannot afford not to define concerns as clearly as they appear. They cannot cast aside unresolvable issues without signaling that they are aware of them, and continue to maintain such issues on the agenda. Short of using autocratic means, strata of people can be mobilized only if they are motivated. And they will take part in the action if they can also participate in decision-making. It is still possible to request serious sacrifices and patience from thinking citizens, but this can be done only if people know what they must accept in the interest of achieving a specified purpose.

Openness is indispensable also because some rather contradictory processes and phenomena must be reconciled. A relative unity is necessary, and so is continuous debate. Equally, one must sustain certain fundamental principles, and at the same time review those principles. And similarly, one must consistently adhere to the established goals and must maintain flexibility in regards to the means. Most important is the fact that without mobilization there is no stability, and without stability there is no mobility. These processes become incomprehensible and misleading unless they take place with the knowledge of the general public.

Above all, there is a need for a conception which rises high in its principles, and is well thought-through regarding its details. It is not an impossible task: in 1953 the party program was drafted during a two-week period, and within another week became part of the government program.

The basic principles must be emphatically fixed, primarily the most important ones, those of the power. Hungary has a socialist order of society, and there is neither an internal nor an external force or condition which can change that. In theory one may argue whether it would be better to depart on the road toward a bourgeois society, but in reality such arguments are superfluous.

Although in principle the National Assembly may declare a change in the social order, this would be a manifestation of our political system not having received adequate consideration. Such declaration would not reflect a real possibility. Every mistake, every odd feature of the system must be criticized and attacked, it is not worth questioning whether any of the mistakes and odd features should be retained. But let us never forget: socialist order can be brighter than the sun, and it also can be catastrophic.

Hungary has a single-party system. This system will remain presumably until the social order takes deep enough roots so that a pluralistic political structure would not threaten the social order itself, and the victory of one party would not threaten with annihilation another. The state leadership role of the party which encompasses the minority is a historic necessity, it is not worthwhile to hide this limitation of freedom. History could have taken a different course and there could have been a different political institutional system within Hungarian socialism. There were opportunities for such a different system, but in 1948 the party leadership—incorrectly—liquidated a multi-party coalition system which existentially threatened socialism. The parties reestablished during the 1956 chaos meant the possibility of restoring a bourgeois social order.

The relationship between the party and the state power must be institutionalized. All those organs, mechanisms and structures which create the semblance that it is the party which renders fundamental decisions are flawed: pretending to act is the greatest enemy of real activities; the semblance results in self-deception, illusions, dissatisfaction and indifference. In order to reach decisions in principle, however, there is no need for a party apparatus to parallel the state apparatus. It is the duty of local party organs to be involved in party life, and it is not their duty to administer the state, and to direct economic and intellectual life.

At present there is no organ which could effectively control the policies of the party. The National Assembly is authorized to supervise the council of ministers, and the trade unions represent the workers' interests. The party can be controlled only by the people, and until such control does not assume an institutionalized form, the role of publicity is even more important. Citizens can express opinions and can influence the political sphere only by way of publicity. The citizenry's capability to act can be increased only through increased freedom of opinion, otherwise the party remains in a vacuum.

The precondition for the free expression of opinion is the open clashing of opinions. The political leadership needs an intellectual force which is capable to withstand debate. [At the same time,] this would also manifest ability. Opinion becomes an effective force if presented appropriately from the nation's pulpits, in newspaper

columns and on the television screen. At stake in debates is not primarily the convincing of those who hold different opinions, but to convince public opinion.

In clashing opinions it is important for the various debating parties to have equal opportunity, and no decent person would debate about persons in disadvantaged situations. If the political sphere lends its power in support and in defense of those who agree with it, the uneven conditions would serve as obstacles to debate, and those enjoying the exception will be placed in a morally untenable situation. Those in power should not provide protection, instead they should provide for the community, which does not protect, but creates the spirit.

The public can oversee the party's policies, but it cannot control the activities which shape those policies. The party's functioning can be controlled only by party members. It is indispensable that this mechanism of self-control be institutionalized and realized. This includes admission to membership, as well as the communal nature of basic organizations, the mandatory dissemination of information to basic organizations, their opportunity to comment and the clarification of the actual power of the [party's] elected bodies and its apparatus. The party should openly accept its role, should institutionalize that role so that it can be controlled.

In order to accomplish this it must be recognized within the party that the party's history had been falsified and that its portrait had been distorted. It is not true that the bolsheviks—pressed into illegality and into emigration for decades, threatened by police terror, crippled by informants and forced to constantly conspire—did not know, they could not have known, an organizational format other than one characterized by blind iron discipline, the reign of the apparatus, strict obedience, and unchallengeable, monolithic unity in thought and action. This stalinist model came into being and was declared the only conceivable model leading to salvation when the leading guard of bolshevik leaders was removed from the party and their lives were taken. In Lenin's age, and even after that for years, uninterrupted debate, the constant clashing of differences of opinion, the struggle between individuals and groups holding various opinions, and their theoretical and political struggles served not only as the fundamental principle for the Bolshevik Party, but also as its vital element. The party must know that if it transforms itself it will not deviate from its ideals and principles, but will return to the best of its traditions.

In the course of searching for a way out the nation, as well as the leadership, will be confronted by a dual time frame. The crisis calls for quick results so that confidence is restored, but the hurried resolution of fundamental structural changes cannot lead to success. However anxiously, most citizens have understood the promised seven lean years in the economy; it has become apparent that there is no other way out. One cannot tell just what

consequences will flow from our belt-tightening, just as one does not know what the results will be. The citizenry, however, did not advance confidence to the state—too much delay took place prior to the turn-about—but they were forced to accept the necessity, and one cannot expect that such acceptance will improve the citizenry's motivation to work and its general feeling. Increasing the freedom of the citizenry, and transforming the directive machinery and mechanism represents the only way out toward the revival of the citizenry's self-inspired preparedness to act.

The rethinking of the relationship between the party and the party members, the party and the state machinery, and the state and the citizenry, and the formation of a new structure is by all means a many-year process, but one cannot wait several years for the nation to move forward from its dead center. There must be an interim solution, an interim structure which is different from the present structure, but is not quite the one which can be sanctioned. If there is a crisis, one may assume that there is a need for a crisis staff. It should be decided what their tasks, composition and jurisdiction should be. The goal should be to set into motion the stiffened machinery, the definition of new goals and methods, the revival of the public spirit, and the restoration of confidence. One cannot perceive crisis resolution without the citizens confronting themselves, their recent past, then redefining their goals and ideals for life. Social conditions are created primarily by factors external to citizens, but the citizen cannot shift all of the responsibility to circumstances. If the state is responsible for everything, then its power and rights are unlimited.

Within the nation's consciousness the desire to prosper overshadowed all other values. The forced pace by which material goods increased produced not only unfounded hopes. It also formulated an outlook whose only focus is the near future, thus assigning a secondary significance to the entire life process. Public consciousness also accepted the illegal means by which goals are to be achieved, thus adopting irrational, wasteful consumption habits. While Hungary is struggling with constant, severe residential dwelling problems, a hundred-thousand pieces of non-residential real property were transferred to citizens in the form of private property. Countless crypts and fences were built, and so were unnecessarily expensive, non-functional, ugly homes. Despite the high price of gasoline, unresolvable parking and spare parts supply problems and an undeveloped network of roads, there are 1.5 million cars in private possession, and the line of those wanting to have cars is endless. The consumption level of economically developed bourgeois states has become the yardstick, without the stringent thrift and long-range planning that also characterizes those countries. The contagious disease by which "I must have what the Jones' have" became rampant, without measuring the value of the other person's example with the yardstick of rationality and utility. This then created a constant feeling of shortage, and planted the feeling of dissatisfaction into people.

Citizens waste their time and their working strength; life is becoming increasingly harassed, nervous and rushed; joy, satisfaction and happiness are on the decrease. The worth of labor and its self-worth has been overshadowed. An irrational, wasteful outlook dominates production: they use computers in places where pocket calculators would do, and there are no computers in places where they would be needed.

Hungary has come to a crossroad: it either reschedules its needs and their satisfaction, or its aspirations and opportunities will be in constant conflict, causing constant tension and frustration. Hungary either reproduces the social value system the hallmark of which is judiciousness, decency, self-respect, preparedness to help, and the acceptance of sacrifice and responsibility, or the nation's life will become desolate.

Hungarian socialism needs to acquire more dignity, more self-respect. Hungarian socialism could afford it, because it has reason for it, as evidenced by its history in the recent past. The ones who remember will know how we lived twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years ago. And the ones who do not remember, because it is impossible for them to remember, should leaf through the history books. If rightful self-respect does not turn into a force, if the dignity of being endangered does not evolve, society will deprive itself from its potential.

It is practice that primarily affects people and molds their life, even within social dimensions. But this too has become dogma: arguing, convincing, reasoning had turned into old-fashioned concepts. The author of a study conveys not only the responsibility of those who know how to write when he endeavors to attest to the social and human molding role of thought and of the word. The essence of mankind suffers injury if meditation is excluded from life, if society fails to motivate people to think, if words are viewed as rhetoric, if the existential steam-roller tramples upon consciousness, if arguments and counter-arguments amount to no more than gun duels from a distance of 100 meters, if Plato must be retrained to become a street sweeper or nuclear physicist, if man and power think only in terms of interest, if sentiments become passing whims and sense becomes a luxury, a mere ornament. The word must regain its value. An attempt to describe reality and truth also constitutes action: it is society that will become poorer without it, while life will be more barren, and man less capable to act.

November 1987

12995

## POLAND

### Letter Defends Marxism, Sees Need for Evolving Socialism

26000226a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
10 Feb 88 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Minc: "Can Socialism Do More ?"]

[Text] The low effectiveness of the current method of management, especially in the last few years, is not bearing up under the force of society's expectations. Because of this we are forced to improve the functioning of some of its mechanisms.

We must improve the economic mechanisms and democratize societal life. During these actions we may not neglect ideology, because every participant of a historical process, which is the economic reform, needs rational explanations of all that is happening around him. The need for understanding and possessing a clear vision of the future are extremely important to the success of the activities we undertake. The lack of reaction to these social needs in this area leaves an imprint on the orientation of many of our fellow countrymen.

Until recently concepts such as: profit, free competition, market prices, inflation, economic crisis, conflict of interest etc. were considered the inseparable companions of the capitalistic method of production. Today, we know that socio-economic crisis can accompany the development of socialism, and that in this system there is much conflict of interest, and that it is not easy to obtain a harmonious development of the economy. In our system, as well, profit can be a measure of effectiveness in management under the condition that it does not come about as a result of man's exploitation of man. Market prices are "prices closer to reality."

Over many years we have been living with the concepts which comprise the picture of an ideal socialistic society, characterized by the unity of politics and morality, absence of conflict, the common interest etc. We became accustomed to seeing socialism as the ideal model for a nation—a super-enterprise in which everything has its place, models, norms, values, and is administered through central planning.

There is among us a substantial group of persons who view the current changes as the defeat of socialism. Because for them socialism exists only and exclusively as a model for a government and economy from the years that include 1940 through the 1970's. In their understanding the current changes are a reformation. They are even seen as revisionism and not belonging to socialism. These subjects are not touched often both in meetings and in discussions, in the press, on the radio and television. There are no ideological conferences devoted to these problems. Therefore many persons suffer from

the lack of a clear vision. Crushed by the changes in various economic and price mechanisms they are uncertain of tomorrow. They await further developments.

A certain paradox is reached, these persons desire change, especially in the area of improving the standard of living, but without radical transformations in the mechanisms that could provide the improvement in the standard of living. It is to be a change, as if ordained from above.

They do not wish to understand that the continued bending of reality by force to match their visions, which are totally unrelated to real life, makes very little sense. They do not take into consideration the fact that the socialistic method of managing things is relatively new and has the right to experience difficulties as it is growing on the foundations of the old method for management and functions beside it. People cannot be treated the way well planned, working machines and installations are. People are as they are. Their perceptions must be changed not by "winding up the mainspring", but through changes in conditions in which they live, by changing the principles and mechanisms under which society functions.

Today, we cannot say that Marxism did not prove itself because there is no basis for such a statement. Furthermore, the "dogmatists" do not have the right to say it. Marxism is an ideology of movement and development, it does not recognize a static world vision which limits man's view of the future and it must not be allowed that it be filled with doubt and apathy. This task is equally important as any concrete activity. We must convince those who are afraid of changes that reforms do not have to mean revisionism or reformation, and that dogmatic thinking does not speed the arrival of the period when high effectiveness in management and the corresponding standard of living will also be the mark of the socialistic economy.

12411

**Socialism's Restructuring Promises More Democracy, Economic Reforms**  
26000281b Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish  
No 2, Feb 1988 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Ludwik Krasucki, deputy editor in chief, NOWE DROGI, PZPR CC theoretical organ, by Marek Goliszewski, on 15 Feb 1988: "Interview With Ludwik Krasucki"]

[Text]

[Question] Overall, what factors most influence our situation at the beginning of 1988?

[Answer] Above all, the new stage of the economic reform and of the democratization of public life. The course of the start-up will determine the aftermath — and hence also this country's future.

Essentially, what is happening now represents directly or indirectly a consequence of the great reforming initiative of the PZPR. Given the participation of various forces and men of goodwill, this initiative has developed into a specific program which represents the negation of feelings of impotence and frustration. Fortunately, it also has nothing in common with any arrogant complex of one-sided righteousness but is open to creative ideas and proposals ensuing from practical experience.

[Question] Aren't you adorning the picture? Public opinion reveals much anxiety and mistrust.

[Answer] Because real life is difficult. Because we have to pay the unavoidable cost of change now, whereas its advantages will ensue in the future. The overall pattern of the reforms unfortunately resembles the receding-horizon effect.

Another aspect of this pattern is the fact that, like a high-power reflector, it illuminates the actual situation of the society and the economy, brings to the surface dilemmas and contradictions, and bares flaws and sore spots. Thus the increase in the number of critical signals and in the sharpness of discussion and appraisals reflects not a worsening in the situation but a strengthening of the therapeutic effect of the reform.

The reforms intensify the interplay of interests, views, and moods within the society and expose glaringly the colors on the map of contradictions. They entail questions which cannot be shunned. The big and small social groups and simply individuals join an informal movement which often leads to a change in mentality and to extensive shifts on the political and psychosocial map. This is not chaos but ferment in which new features of the national community gradually evolve. Whoever infers conclusions of gloom and doom from this ferment does not understand what is actually happening.

Incidentally, certain intransigent anti-system oppositionists and some Western correspondents at first had complained that these changes were shallow and sluggish. Now that the battle for deep and rapid changes has begun, they are griping because these changes are not occurring without conflict and are not universally popular. There is a lack of logic here, and in its place we encounter unfriendly premeditation.

[Question] Aside from opinions such as the above, the motif of the "collapse" or "failure" of the system is present in many conversations. What do you say of it?

[Answer] So far as Poland is concerned, let me refer the readers to the assessments formulated with a remarkable boldness by the PZPR at its Ninth Extraordinary Congress and subsequently in the report of the Kubiak Commission and in the numerous writings and speeches of the First Secretary. So far as the USSR and socialism as a whole are concerned, this concatenation of historic accomplishments and distortions of theory and deformations of practice, this contradiction between the right reason of the general goals and principles and the imperfection of many solutions and methods, is being illuminated by the comments of Mikhail Gorbachev.

I view the key to discussion of this subject as follows: not negation but breadth and stern realism of assessments and recommendations; not nihilism, not discarding everything into a black sack, but criticism that is insofar sharp as justified by facts and real life, to the extent needed for the good of socialism—and hence also counteracting the tendencies to weaken socialism.

Socialism is not a prayer shrine. There are no taboo topics under socialism. That is a matter of the past. But appeals to reform resolutely something that is viewed in advance as a useless mistake lack any credibility. Now a representative of this supposedly incurably sick system is being boisterously feted by America, which also has chosen him to be "the man of the year." Poland—yet another of the supposed sites of the agony of socialism—is being visited by a growing number of representatives of the West.

Discussion with honest critics and opponents of socialism is possible and necessary. But as for its discussion with those who deny socialism outright, that is a waste of time and energy. What kind of partner is that who is ready to support the PRL system of society in the same way in which the rope supports the chin of the hanged man?

Other systems of society in the past have at times been the subject of deep reforms. Half a century ago the introduction of Roosevelt's "New Deal" led on the one hand, to the belief that capitalism was dying and would never recover, and on the other, to accusations that the American system of society was being liquidated and sold out to "the Reds." Nowadays similar views accompany the reforms in Poland, the USSR, and other socialist countries. Those who advocate them from afar may be justified by their unfamiliarity with the real state of affairs. But what can be said about those who proclaim them on the spot?

Socialism is undergoing a deep curative treatment, a kind of general overhaul. By now there is a new quality and a new era in its history. It is still far from a tranquil haven. But we did already traverse the most stormy part of the sea, while strengthening en route both the engine room and the navigation system.

These advances in previous years have provided the necessary ideological, social, and material starting premises for the new stage of reforms. Unfortunately, certain champions of the ultrareformist phraseology have contributed the least and complicated the most the creation of these premises. They added wormwood to the soup and nowadays they are complaining that it has a bitter taste. It cannot be forgotten how they had applauded the sanctions, protested against [the West's] measures to normalize relations with Poland, appealed against granting credit to Poland, and promoted the slogan, "Work like a turtle." Neither can the energies wasted on the utopia of the "parallel society" be forgotten.

As for those who separate themselves from the slogan, "The worse things are the better they are," begin to appreciate the magnitude of what is at stake in the new stage of reform, and realize that its defeat would also be their defeat, we welcome the evolution of their views—on condition that they abandon the idea of entrenching themselves in a kind of "second fortified line" of complications still oriented in the same direction. "Primum non nocere!"

[Question] By saying this, aren't you restricting the field of dialogue and consensus?

[Answer] In no way. I am merely saying that there is no point to a dialogue with those who desire to transform discussion into a brawl and, what is more, kick the others under the table. Everyone who is ready to help push the cart is invited. But passengers who want to insert a stick in the wheel spokes are not invited.

My party has proclaimed the alliance of the reforming forces of socialist renewal. This is the broadest possible alliance, but still it remains within the framework of our system of society. It accommodates freely those who stress the need for renewal as well as those who stress the adjective "socialist"; it accommodates the diversity of views and motives, of standpoints and schools of thought, with the exception of those desiring to negate and dismantle the PRL system. The advocates of such intentions are not accommodated within this formula. That is their own choice, a choice which, as anyone will admit, is made nowadays under quite liberal conditions.

I champion the slogan, "We ask no one whence he comes." But we must ask, "what with?" The rules of rational politics include two: believing that people can change, but also bearing in mind that when two people say the same thing it does not always mean the same thing. The door is wide open, but not to those who bring with them the kit and caboodle of anti-system attitudes.

[Question] Does not this essentially mean that you expect others to identify themselves with your own stand, your own version of criticism?

[Answer] On the contrary. I see no reason why men of goodwill should be deprived of the right to criticize, not even when their views differ greatly from those of my party. A critical view and the proposing of unorthodox, including controversial, solutions represent the capital of the renewal and its inseparable need. In many domains, forms which 5 or 10 years ago would have seemed heretical or utopian already exist nowadays in Poland. In 5 or 10 more years forms which nowadays seem heretical or utopian to us will appear. But they may not have promoted watering-down and undermining the basic principles of our system of society, undermining its logic and stability as construed not statically but dynamically. And criticism is indispensable to spurring dynamism, on condition that it be constructive criticism, criticism of one's own home which one wants not to demolish but to renovate, streamline, and improve.

We shall object to any gracious designation by the party and the authorities of domains from which they are to be excluded. Besides, in the sense of domains of extralegal action contrary to the rules of coalition government and outside social control, this is in no way desired by the party and the authorities. Besides, while in some domains we are "accorded" exclusivity, in others it is desired of us that we will let ourselves be indirectly excluded. The Greek saying, "I fear the Greeks even when they are bringing gifts" [Timeo Danaos et donas ferentes] applies here.

Incidentally, the dollar gifts or rather subventions coming from the transoceanic "Greeks" also say something. The maneuvers of the recipients to conceal them owing to the situation cannot camouflage this. The cat is out of the bag each time.

The year 1981 is long past. This is the year 1988. There can be no mention of sharing power and delimiting spheres of influence. Not only because there is no room for a repetition of anarchy but also because, owing to democratization, such problems are no longer topical. A more real problem to the party is how to change its role in order to find a niche for itself in the realities of actual people's rule, among the large number of political groupings. A more real problem to the authorities is how to overcome the archaic and inefficient [image of, belief in] their omnipotence, which confuses the citizens. A more real problem to all the supporters of the changes leading to shaping a new structure of the same system of society is to support it—while retaining the identity of the system—through sagacious proposals, constructive participation, and responsible conduct. The elimination of the party is out of the question. But what comes into question is the undermining of the idea itself of democratic reforms, were they to result in weakening the state and eroding social discipline.

The success of the reforms requires the existence of a force capable of promoting and accomplishing them despite obstacles and resistance. The changes, just because they are of a democratic nature, require effective action and the reduction of diverse activities to a common denominator.

At times one hears the following reasoning: first, [give us] limitless pluralism, and only then [we'll give you] agreements and cooperation. This is placing the cart before the horse. The reverse is more proper. Pluralism is sensible when it promotes the awakening and fusion of social energies. I interpret it as an honest agreement among independent, constructive, and responsible groupings and not as a field for insane factional quarrels and tunneling under fortifications.

[Question] In view of this, what is your attitude toward the authorities—the society schema? What obstacles on the path of reforms do you perceive in that domain?

[Answer] The authorities—the society schema is an unrealistic rhetorical device camouflaging oversimplification or a negative political idea. The Polish society with its merits and flaws is a combination of diverse social forces, diverse interests and aspirations, and diverse views and stances. Idealizing them explains nothing and obscures everything. Power [the authorities] derives from that society, and not for a moment does it cease to be its emanation and reflection. The idea of the diverse facets of a monolithic political system and of a coalition system of rule takes this situation into account. This means much more than merely an expanded continuation of the multiparty model traditional in the PRL. This is a reflection of new thinking about a socialism liberated from the straitjacket of bureaucratic centralism.

In order to serve the nation well, the authorities cannot live in an ivory tower. They must make allowance for the actual interplay of interests, for the biasing of social awareness by many outmoded or false stereotypes, for the painful memories of yesterday and the difficulties of today, and also for the continuation of subversive activities. Precisely because these authorities desire to streamline the economy and democratize public life, they must assure an effective and secure course of these processes.

There is a segment of the society which desires a "repetition of the anarchy." There is the conservative segment, which in the Polish case is of not so much of dogmatist as of bureaucratic provenance. This concerns people who feel apprehensive about the painful consequences of the economic reform and consistent decentralization, the consequences of the abolition of ubiquitous paternalism [egalitarianism] which apportions little to everyone but also expects little of everyone in return. This is a domain of apathy which is influenced not only by "ingrained passivity" but also by the pressure of quotidian material difficulties and problems of everyday life.

A separate analysis would be needed to explain why such diverse groupings are linked by a primitive populism, by an inclination to make unrealistic claims.

I believe that, in whatever can be done in Poland to promote the reforms and progress, we must make full allowance for the extensive nature of the tendencies mentioned above, which give the lie to the sycophant references to His Majesty the Civic-Minded Society.

[Question] In an interview granted to this newspaper Mr. Bronislaw Geremek supports concluding a broad anti-crisis pact between the authorities and the society, as based on constitutional principles, the abandonment of the "martial law mentality," and trade-union pluralism, while at the same time admitting the possibility of modification of the system and the will of the authorities to continue the reforms. What do you think of that?

[Answer] I appreciate his admission of the constitutional foundations of the system of society and his abandonment of the thesis of the "unreformability" of the system, as well as his emphasis on the importance of the current stage of the reforms and his realistic references to the experience gained before and after 13 December [1981, when martial law was declared].

But I would prefer for Mr. Geremek to resist the temptation of speaking on behalf of the society, which does not correspond and never has corresponded to the actual situation. I consider his comments to be his own and those of that segment of the society to which he belongs.

It is also time to classify among fairy tales the proposition that the present-day direction and methods of governance are burdened by "martial-law mentality." That martial law era—a "lesser evil" necessitated by the drama of the situation—was short-lasting and was endured with a praiseworthy determination and imagination. During that era were launched not just discrete reforms but their entire preliminary process. This demonstrated that December 1981 was a dam not only to anarchy but to a return of the distortions from before August 1980 [the rise of Solidarity].

So far as the so-called martial-law mentality is concerned, at present it burdens chiefly the "other side." I consider sticking to the schemas and dogmas of 1980-1982 to be a kind of conservatism and a widening lag behind the times. The more rapidly the slogans, poses, and gestures of the beginning of this decade are discarded, the more rapidly will the conditions for translating into reality that anti-crisis or reforming pact will arise.

I am bothered by [Geremek's] insistence on trade-union pluralism now. In a situation in which every real step on the path of the economic reform entails considerable problems, trade-union pluralism would, even in ideal conditions, lead to an escalation of demands and unbridled demagoguery. No one can complain that the current [government-endorsed] trade unions are not critically

disposed and aggressive. He who desires to defend the interests of workers should be active in these unions. What are the millions of members of the former Solidarity doing?

I wish I could believe that the proposal for such a pact has nothing in common with the method of Penelope, who publicly wove cloth in the daytime and secretly unraveled it at night. Pacts are good if they engender good facts.

1386

#### Solidarity Adviser Promotes TU Pluralism, Views Economic Problems

26000281a Warsaw *KONFRONTACJE* in Polish  
No 2, Feb 88 pp 6, 7

[Interview of 15 Dec 1987 with Bronislaw Geremek, adviser to the former National Negotiating Commission [KKP] for Free and Independent Trade Unions [NSZZ] "Solidarnosc," by Jerzy Szczesny: "Interview With Bronislaw Geremek"]

[Text]

[Question] How do you view the country's situation at the threshold of 1988?

[Answer] Generally speaking, I see it as unusually dramatic. What is more, my impression is that the drama of the situation is not being fully perceived by public opinion, whether in this country or abroad.

[Question] What do you consider to be the cause of this drama?

[Answer] Two factors, in my opinion. The first is the country's economic situation. Experts from various domains perceive an increasingly steep decline of the economy, dating from the mid-1970s. This trend, which used to be somewhat slowed down by resorting to the last ready reserves, has now become so frightening as to be an outright civilizational peril. This concerns industry, its unprecedented depreciation of facilities and the limited possibilities for the indispensable reproduction of national wealth, of the entire technical infrastructure. Then also there are the consequences of the relationship between man and nature, that is, of the growing ecological perils which, as known, are accumulating like an avalanche and are difficult to reverse, sometimes being irreversible. The second factor of this dramatic situation is the impotence or even frustration being felt by both the society and the authorities.

[Question] Is not this a gloom-and-doom view? In the final analysis, prominent economists define the socialist economy as a shortage economy. In retrospect, the situation has never been ideal and free of perils, crises,

and shortcomings. After all, in the history of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] there has never been a generation that did not experience some crisis without surmounting it.

[Answer] That is another matter. You see, the gloom-and-doom view is professed by those who believe that a situation is inevitable and offers no way out. I don't claim this, and in that sense I am no prophet of doom. As for the incompetence of the system so far, that is another matter. Has it always caused as a consequence such an extensive crisis? Are we indeed living in a permanent crisis? After all, there were those totally unique immediate postwar years, the years of the reconstruction of Poland. The reconstruction took place in the presence of not just acute conflicts but also a virtual civil war. Even so, in those years there had evolved a kind of agreement or pact between the authorities and the society in the evident interest of the country. The period of postwar reconstruction was a unique time of consensus between the authorities and the society, even despite the sharp political conflicts of those times. I believe that what we have been observing for more than 10 years is a menacing trend. Marxists would say that the growing number of perils acquires a dangerous quality. At present, for the first time, we have a situation in which not only the oppositionist groupings or those independent of the authorities are mentioning a structural crisis rather than a crisis linked to the economy. For the first time, the ruling elites are mentioning this openly, and not only in Poland at that. At present this problem affects practically every European socialist country. Thus this is not a question of some shortages or shortcomings that can be somehow remedied, patched up. This is something more! This is a crisis of a system. Economists say that too.

[Question] But does not the fact that the ruling elites are aware of the acuteness of the present crisis alleviate the drama of the situation?

[Answer] Indeed, the Hungarian experiments and the far-reaching reforms that are being successfully implemented in China as well as the predictions of reform by our eastern neighbors demonstrate that this time the ruling elites show sufficient imagination by not hesitating to discard many of the seemingly immanent principles of the system so far. These changes, and especially the awareness of their inevitability, bring of course some hope that the crisis in which the system has found itself on a global scale can be overcome. But let me draw attention to certain special features of the Polish situation. First, there is the depth of the Polish crisis and at the same time the absence of those material resources which will promote the Soviet or Chinese attempts at reform. Another special Polish feature is the level of the experience and aspirations of the society. In Poland we are dealing not only with an uncollectivized agriculture and a special role of the church but also with a civic-minded society that has strong and authentically experienced democratic traditions.

[Question] Does this complicate or facilitate the process of reforming the Polish system?

[Answer] If the authorities demonstrate the necessary modicum of social imagination, abandon fossilized routines, and discard once convenient but now restrictive dogmas, I believe that these special features of the Polish society shall help halt the dangerous trends now spreading in the Polish economy and Polish mentality. Private farming offers a constant reminder of the crucial importance of the open market and problems of ownership to the reform. The moral authority of the church provides the hope that the crisis of confidence can be overcome, and it also affords a possibility for mediation. Lastly, the existence of a civic-minded society assures that group actions will be subordinated to the rigors of reason and political imagination. This would after all be of invaluable assistance to a genuine reform which is to restore rational laws of economics and again imbue labor with a meaning. But utilizing this opportunity requires a realignment of priorities in the relationship between the economy and politics.

[Question] As a person who belongs to the other side, to the opposition—let us say it without beating about the bush—the opposition to the present authorities, do you perceive their measures to display new elements which would afford an opportunity for a turnaround in the country's dramatic situation? Or are there really no grounds for hope?

[Answer] I do perceive such elements, at any rate I perceive them in PRL policies since mid-1986. There is above all the rise of the belief in the absolute indispensability of a deep economic reform and, linked to it, a reform of public life. This has been plainly declared: the changes are to be deep and not cosmetic, and they must also affect an extensive domain of political life. In the Polish situation I view this as a significant novelty compared with all the preceding crises. But at the same time I must state that the 1 and 1/2 years that passed since that categorical declaration by the ruling party have been like water leaking from a sieve, as it were. There is a wide gap between verbal promises and actual deeds. For I believe that since then no major step has been taken to promote the economic reform. Neither have the hopes of the society been fulfilled as regards a reform of public life.

[Question] It matters whether they have not been fulfilled or whether they simply have not yet been fulfilled....

[Answer] Even if not yet, this in our situation is an extremely costly political factor. Now is the time to round a curve, and this cannot be questioned. And negotiating that curve is taking such an intolerably long time. Then also there is the question whether behind that curve new prospects will appear or we will once again

find the road closed, as has happened many times before. This is a question which hovers like a shadow over public hopes and expectations.

[Question] The Politburo report at the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee stated that the strategy of the present changes "is not accommodated only by the outlived Stalinist model that is overgrown with dogmas as with moss, and whose remnants we must abandon once and for all...." Similarly, an authoritative party publicist, Sejm Deputy Ryszard Wojna, declared in the Sejm the necessity of abandoning the Stalinist model of socialism. Are such statements meant seriously?

[Answer] I appreciate the significance of such statements, because they presage changes that transcend the horizon of short-term measures. The rejection of the Stalinist model of socialism is tantamount to admitting the failure of that model. This is highly important. However, a new problem arises: what new model of socialism is being proposed to replace the old? I have the impression that a complete answer to this question is still lacking, that the nature of that new model is still unknown. I am inclined to some extent to accept the idea that that model will be attained by the trial and error method. I hope in this connection that the errors will not be as painful and costly as they were in the past. Still, the statements you cited are after all mere declarations! They may be important, but they are declarations.

[Question] When do you think they would cease to be mere declarations?

[Answer] In my opinion, this will happen once I witness at least the abandonment of a policy which I would term the martial law strategy. I believe that nowadays, at the end of 1987 and the beginning of 1988, we still are stuck as it were in a state of emergency as regards the stances of both the authorities and the society. Ending this state would mean terminating those struggles and conflicts in which both sides trust one another little and feel toward one another fear, dislike, and sometimes even hatred. It is high time to put an end to this! What can then be expected from the side which I will conditionally term the authorities? Above all, the abandonment of that state of emergency persisting since the imposition of martial law on 13 December 1981. This means abandoning the entire arsenal of laws conceived as a way of insuring the decision of 13 December 1981 and mostly still applicable to this day. This concerns the activities of the judicial system and the ministry of internal affairs, and this also concerns individual and collective civil rights. At that time the mandatory principle of trade-union pluralism was also suspended. This principle was introduced, to be sure, by the Decree on Trade Unions, but at the same time it has been suspended until the Council of State issues an appropriate ruling. Such a ruling would be at present unusually important. Entering into a dialogue with the society requires acknowledging its right to self-organization—this will not be replaced by any sham institutions.

What should, on the other hand, be expected of the society in order that it abandon that state-of-emergency mentality which I believe still pervades it? I think that here only those public actions based on agreements and social contracts should be accepted. In 1980 the social agreements were not merely a response to the nationwide strike; they also represented acceptance of a certain system, namely, of a system under which both sides acknowledged the separateness and identity of each partner. I believe that acknowledging the identity of the partner means the society's acceptance, as a point of departure, of the existing legal order and the principle of the leading role of the PZPR, from which ensues a certain scope of monopoly by the authorities. However, the domain of social agreements is situated outside the indispensable monopoly of the authorities.

[Question] What is included within that indispensable monopoly of the authorities?

[Answer] Foreign policy, defense policy, national security, and, to some extent, the system of representative bodies. Regarding this last matter, the closer the system of representative bodies is to democratic principles, both in the stage of elections and in the stage of parliamentary practice, the better off both the society and the authorities are. I wish to be properly understood when I refer to the indispensable monopoly of the authorities. I am not a supporter of that monopoly, for I am opposed to any political, ideological, economic, or any other monopoly. But I accept the political reality inscribed in the Constitution and, whether I like it or not, I acknowledge the existence of certain domains of public life in which the initiative for curtailing monopoly belongs to the authorities themselves. I believe moreover that it is in the interest of the authorities themselves to restrict their monopoly. The question of monopoly in the system of representative bodies is a most sensitive issue to the authorities and perhaps also the most essential issue to the society. The more the authorities will curtail their monopoly in that respect, the more they will restore the rules of democratic order, the better it will be. A symptom of such mutually favorable initiatives is the recently presaged reform of local government in the spirit of self-government and with allowance for democratic formulas, although here, too, certain difficulties and inconsistencies are being encountered. This is because the initial drafts of party documents had referred to the restoration of communal ownership and the transfer of local industry to local governments, which would strengthen local self-government greatly. Subsequent drafts, however, stretched out these measures over periods of time, thereby weakening the scope and effects of the projected reform.

[Question] Outside the indispensable monopoly of the authorities there exist many matters on which the society desires to exert greater influence than heretofore....

[Answer] Yes. This domain—liberated from political monopoly—can and should be regulated by social agreements. This domain includes both the economy and

public life, with respect to which various social agreements can be reached. For example, agreements on the operation of independent associations or political clubs. In their turn, the associations forming on a new legal basis could concern themselves with matters heretofore belonging in the exclusive domain of the state. Social work, aid for the neediest, and many other civic initiatives in education and culture represent the domains of public life which, once withdrawn from the state's monopoly, require some kind of contract or agreement. For the society desires to gain something, to satisfy some interests, through such agreements, but at the same time respect for the interests of the state is needed. One domain of such agreements could be labor relations, inclusive of working conditions, social security, and wages.

[Question] The depth of the Polish crisis and the perils it harbors are not being questioned by anyone in Poland. Is not it thus possible to reach a kind of anti-crisis pact that would stimulate Polish hopes, awaken the society from lethargy, and point to new prospects?

[Answer] An affirmative answer to this question would be, I believe, portentous. That would be an answer pregnant in consequences. Such a pact is still possible. I believe that, surprising as this may seem, the conclusion of such a social pact against the crisis is more feasible now than it had been in 1981. Why? Because of the experience gained by both sides, before and after 13 December 1981. The experience gained by the society taught it to keep within reasonable limits its aspirations and strivings, while the experience gained by the authorities taught them that they must have genuine social support if they want to turn around the country's economic situation—something that is desired by everyone. It is possible to determine a domain of common good to which internal conflicts would be subordinated. For this reason, an anti-crisis pact nowadays would, I repeat, be more feasible than in 1981. However, there exist obstacles to the conclusion of such a pact. For while in 1981 the society had closed its ranks, nowadays it is no longer as cohesive. It is no longer possible nowadays to speak of the dualism of the authorities versus the society. The society has become differentiated, with various interest groups existing within it. Thus, in order that the society may conclude an anti-crisis pact, there must set in a institutionalization of pluralism that would cover the majority of the society, meaning workers and farmers and not just the intelligentsia—the whole of the Polish society rather. I admit that I attach cardinal importance to trade-union pluralism. For then an authentic partner who enjoys social trust and is aware of his responsibility would return to the public arena.

[Question] Aren't you apprehensive of anarchy in the production process at plants at which a variety of different trade unions fails to reach a consensus?

[Answer] No. What is more, I believe that trade-union pluralism would harbor no political peril to the authorities but on the contrary would operate as a factor

promoting an authentic shared responsibility in a widespread anti-crisis pact. It is precisely in the work community that the contract system termed here the anti-crisis pact can be most effectively worked out. For it is not true that all the social and occupational groups are interested in a deep economic reform. Not at all! In the short run, their interests differ markedly, with some gaining and others losing from the reform. It is precisely such a pluralistically construed representation of interests of the work community that affords a possibility for creating an authentic contract to which all would adhere, a contract which must concern genuine interests and be couched in the language of genuine compromise—this concerns both sides. Besides, the institutionalization of social pluralism may acquire various forms, such as a second chamber of the Sejm in which varied social interests would be articulated, or extraparliamentary representative bodies. The point is to assure the authenticity and autonomy of new institutions, movements, and associations; this concerns curtailing the reach of the state and augmenting the domain of civic liberties. I am convinced that this is an indispensable prerequisite for such an anti-crisis social contract. But this requires boldness and imagination—scarce merchandise on our market.

1386

**Columnist Favors 'Pluralism,' Faults Media Use of Term**

26000252 Krakow *ZDANIE* in Polish  
No 1, Jan 88 pp 61, 62

[Article by "Lektor": "Our Pluralism"]

[Text] I hear sometimes that press reviews of the kind I prepare are substandard: they are not informative at all, they do not reflect the opinion of the editorial board, and, to make matters still worse, I keep dealing with the same array of publications, whereas, say, M. A. Styks who works for [ZYCIE LITERACKIE editor] Mr Machajek gives the impression that he reads everything that is published in the PRP, beginning with TYGODNIK NADWISLANSKI and all the way to TRAKTOR. So, somebody buys ZYCIE LITERACKIE and—provided he can suffer through to the next to last page—finds out what's new in the shops of Pardus, Puzyna, Lisowski, as well as Majka and Tokarski. On the other hand, in ZDANIE the press review is a plot where the author nurtures his own hypochondria and cultivates his private, petty complexes, which are stubborn and narrow. Meanwhile, a broad spectrum (what a magnificent expression—"broad spectrum") and pluralism are the words of the day in our country—let the people select what they like. Did not our Lord God, having created Eve, wake up Adam and tell him: "Go and choose yourself a wife?"

It was with a dose of dejection that I read in POLITYKA (No.2) the remarks by Piotr Sarzynski on the abortive review of publications; by means of protests and pulling

strings the endangered editorial boards unfortunately managed to prolong their life. Nothing remains of the bold plan to close down 60 publications, that is to say, only RADAR has failed to stay around (as Sarzynski writes, the paper and production capacities released in this fashion "were intended for use in producing new magazines, which will fill in the gaps in the market and be more robust in format and content," because the ones scheduled to be closed down had lost "public credibility and readership"). The reason for my dejection was that in my files of clippings I have kept a piece from an article by Henryk Wandowski disseminated by BARWY magazine (sic! sic!). The journalist, socialist in form and national in content, wrote in the piece on the background investigation of journalists in 1982 that "a large cloud of background investigations produced a small rain" and "as a result, yet another useful idea went down the drain in our country. Once again the Poles, lulled by beautiful notions such as humanism, tolerance, understanding and magnanimity, magnanimously allowed themselves to be cornered into a situation of inability to act, harmful to the interests of the state and the people." It is surprising that, proceeding from two absolutely different points of departure, and even moving in opposite directions, you can meet without wanting to. Could it be that this is the idea of understanding?

On Christmas Eve, I bought the first issue of the monthly KONFRONTACJE, published by the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. On the cover, I found a picture with an allusion to the now notorious "punching each other in the jaw" [photograph of two men punching each other with the caption "Why?"—translator's note] and an announcement of the memoirs "I Have Been Interned."

The memoirs were supposed to be a pearl; instead, they turned out to be a partially rotten egg. I doubt very much whether this is the way to fill in the gaps in our most recent history, i.e. the years 1980-1982. Simply put, these "blank spots" are not facts, but interpretation, analyses, attempts at a more profound understanding. These are indeed lacking, though I do not know if all readers feel it. This country has become 6 years older. At that time, the class of 1988 was 13 years old, and today, as the sociologists confirm, the "Solidarity" era is almost a myth to them. Personally, I read this memoir with emotion rather than a jumping heart and flushed cheeks: I recalled the time when journalist S. with much dedication broke through to a certain "place of isolation" situated in the southeast of Poland (undoubtedly, he felt like Hemingway stealing himself across the frontline—this feeling does wonders for your macho self-esteem) and reported that Anna Walentynowicz [co-founder of the NSZZ Solidarity—translator's note] was sinking her teeth into yet another Swiss chocolate bar while the populace was waiting around coke stoves for deliveries of milk, oil and margarine. This shook everyone up, and many people saw the light. Today we are given to understand that the journalist in question is in favor of pluralism and dialogue.

While reading KONFRONTACJE, I was thinking that genuine confrontation of views, attitudes and opinions is really scarce today rather than understanding. New editors come and declare that they will do a "middle-ground" publication—for the hardliners and the softliners, for the vertical and the horizontal ones [a hint at "the horizontal power structures" advocated by some of the Polish opposition in the early 1980s—translator's note], religious devotees and atheists. They make an effort, working the phone, writing letters and making pleas, expecting resistance, bargaining, negotiations and protracted meetings over coffee and drinks. Meanwhile, surprise! There is no resistance, rather there are airs and graces, materials come in and interviews are given.

However, little comes out of pluralism anyway: an atmosphere of politeness, good will and dialogue reigns supreme in the press. For example, I see no great differences in KONFRONTACJE between what Maciej Letowski [deputy editor-in-chief] from LAD [Catholic social weekly] and Ludwig Krasucki [deputy editor-in-chief] from NOWE DROGI [PZPR theoretical journal], or Urszula Wojciechowska [Professor, Main School of Planning and Statistics and member, Consultative Economic Council] and Ryszard Bugaj [economist, former advisor to Solidarity, presently employed at Institute of Economic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences] were saying. As far as Orwell's "Animal Farm" [first installment published in Jan 88 KONFRONTACJE] is concerned, I confronted myself with it 10 years ago at the very least.

What I've written is not at all an objection to the idea of such publications, which build bridges and look for a "common ground for dialogue," express "a broad spectrum" and further "the line of understanding." Something else is important in the matter. After all, if genuine confrontation is scarce in current intellectual life (this, at least, is the impression one gets from a considerable segment of magazines), the groups of conciliatory-minded journalists who have successfully battled for paper allocations for new publications are not to blame. Life itself has drawn people closer together, testing their views and retaining what was worth keeping. Therefore, the courage of declaring one's publication "pluralistic" and "middle-ground" comes considerably cheaper now. I may be mistaken, but, in our current concept of pluralism, we resort too often to a quite unreliable formal criterion: this one was a "Solidarity" advisor, and that one is an advisor to the curia. This one organized strikes, and that one did Ivanov's bidding [i.e. the Russians' bidding—translator's note]. That one over there is a correspondent of foreign right-wing press. My question is: what is that supposed to mean? "Solidarity" was not a homogenous movement; nor are feeble-minded journalists a feature of the French right wing, for example. The criterion of organizational affiliation in the past or at present does not resolve the issue of "pluralism."

For example, 5 years ago when people on whom the idea of "middle-ground" press dawned raised their voice,

they immediately got slapped, or, within the framework of having their wings clipped, embarked on a new occupation. As it were, for some people they were a team of special service agents set up by the "regime" in order to reconnoiter the situation in the ranks of intelligenzia and lay a smoke screen of liberalism. For others, they were also a team of special service agents, but organized by someone very different and undermining little by little the healthy foundation of reborn Polish journalism. At present, "middle-ground publications" are a revelation, the only alternative and the only hope. However, somebody who crosses this bridge today risks nothing, because it is easier to ford across with your pant legs rolled up just a bit.

The more I think about it, the more I become convinced that I am in favor of party publications, that a journal is not an exchange office or a pawn shop. I prefer when magazines (i.e. groups of people) oppose each other rather than individuals in one magazine. It is more valuable for an idea to revolve around a single axis, rather than to be like a sponge saturated with fluids of various origin. "Middle-ground" magazines or "middle-ground" ideas cropping up now in magazines once distinguished by their search for "fence-straddlers" are children being born at least several years too late. The idea of middle ground was needed when hunters' horns and barking of the bloodhounds were heard in the greater part of the Polish press, both official and underground. I know that the bloodhounds have matured and grown by now, and that they are looking understandingly at us from in front of the fireplace, and sometimes even wag their tails in friendship. However, there is no hiding the scars inflicted by their fangs.

It is not magazines that have to be pluralistic, but the press market. The object is not to have a multiplicity of human attitudes, but a multiplicity of social institutions of which these people can be representatives. Therefore, magazines should be published by those who think alike in opposition to those who also think alike, but quite differently. If somebody believes that this runs counter to democracy, he should consult an encyclopedia.

It may be that the idea of "middle-ground" comes easier at a time when we have become convinced that little of vital importance follows from this cacophony of discussions, round tables and panel meetings, through which our pluralism is implemented, that this plurality of views translates into the reality of social, economic or cultural life only to a small degree. I have already written in one of my previous columns that in Poland it is not customary for intellectual life to interact frequently with daily life. For example, in the increasingly long lines for booze (before the New Year, they have gotten so horribly long that, driving through Krakow, I could not say where the head or the end of the line were) people read different newspapers, and in them treatises on, say, whether Marek Kotanski [chairman of the Young People's Movement to Combat Drug Addiction—translator's note] can be redeemed, or on what morality of labor is all about, or

that high social consciousness will ensure the success of the second stage of [economic] reform. Putting it mildly, the mood of the populace is not the best, as reported by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski [director of the Public Opinion Research Center—translator's note] and Jerzy Baczyński (POLITYKA No. 2), and we have in front of us a period when we could use the romanticism of a ZMP [Polish Youth Union] member, the stubbornness of a guerrilla and the spiritual peace of St. Francis of Assisi.

In ODRA, I am reading an excerpt of memoirs entered in the contest "The Third Generation," which ends as follows: "One thing is certain: there is nothing now that follows from anything at all. Everything that made life meaningful, in times of stability and in times of turmoil, is lacking. (...) There have always been question marks, but now you've got to be at least twice as careful. Now you need at least a double set of quotation marks in which you providently put everything, even before you do anything at all."

How does our dream of pluralism look in light of what the above quotation says? Is it not yet another totally academic notion to which we ascribe occasional content, because now being in favor of pluralism is in? At a time when the feeling of uncertainty and apprehension among the populace mounts, when a climate of unfocused resistance is becoming apparent, pluralism presented by a considerable segment of our press is a desert served instead of a dinner.

The situation is a reverse of sorts of the one we had in Poland after 1956. At that time, the thought of pluralism was decreed evil before the social energy subsided. Now, an opening for pluralism occurs after this energy has already weakened. Is this historic fatalism? (Should somebody want to learn about the view of historic fatalism by Messrs. Mlynarski, Zaorski and Pietrzak, he should see the magazine MOWIA WIEKI, No 4, 1987). Could very well be. Unfortunately, I find it hard to believe that such fatalism exists and can explain anything at all, as long as we are looking at history, politics and society rather than cabaret.

For the same reasons I believe that the custom of inviting a party member, a non-party member, a former official of former "Solidarity," a Catholic and a Jew cannot testify to the openness of a given publication or the attachment of its editorial board to the idea of pluralism. After all, in doing so we essentially treat them somewhat like the proverbial woman with a moustache: we feed her well, but keep her in a cage. After all, if she gets away, what are we going to show at the fair?

I want to be understood well: let us not put everybody in the same cart, even if it is lined with silk. Let everybody move in his own vehicle—a mercedes, a four-wheeled cab or a wheel-barrow. Let us think about how to put in a road so that everybody could be a fellow traveler. Otherwise our pluralism will turn out to be yet another version of united front mentality.

This is the reason why I read with great attention supplement No. 5 to magazine RADA NARODOWA, containing a transcript of discussion at the meeting of the Consultative Council on 14 October, i.e. before the referendum. One of the threads of this discussion appears to be particularly important if we want to comprehend what happened in Poland on 29 November 1987. In his introduction to the discussion, Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski considered, among other things, the linkage between political freedoms and economic efficiency. "It has turned out," he said, "that such a causal link simply does not exist. If this is the fact, then I must ask why such linkage, which would otherwise be very desirable, does not exist. Looking for an answer to this question, I find it—hypothetically, to be sure—in something I would term the predominance of a particular kind of populism in social thinking."

"Namely," continued Prof Sadowski, "populist stances apparent in Poland and the pressure of such stances hamper all actions in the economic sphere—actions with a specific view towards a healthier economy, towards programs of increased efficiency etc. It happens this way because such stances are expressed free from intellectual constraints; they find an outlet in demands and criticism not [backed by] a realistic program. (...) On the one hand, we want democratization, we want broad social participation. On the other hand, we should be aware of the threat posed by such nature of populism."

In Prof Sadowski's opinion, the guilt for this state of affairs devolves on the Polish intelligentsia which does not endow "the populist stance with real content," and thus does not endow "with real content the kind of democracy we are after." The Polish intelligentsia often lacks "independent judgment, courage channelled in different directions and criticism pointed towards different sides, i.e. both towards the authorities and towards various worldview and social groups. If these requirements are not met, then one-sidedness prevails, which cannot facilitate the action of endowing the processes of democratization with rational content."

It is a pity that the discussion did not focus more explicitly on these issues in particular, all the more so because they will, in my opinion, cast an increasingly long shadow on life in our country. Only Prof [Jan] Szczepanski brought himself to raise the issue in unambiguous terms. "Self-government is a factor in discharging political power. Likewise, self-government is an outstanding and absolutely necessary factor in the social and societal policy. However, I am afraid that we are overestimating its potential in reorganizing and reforming the economy. (...) Our economy needs intelligent managers and leaders, intelligent masters and economists more than it needs democratization. (...) Once again, democratization is a badly needed endeavor, it is a phenomenon needed in social and cultural policy etc. However, economy has its own rules which govern its efficiency. Let us note how much democracy there is in the highly efficient economies we encounter in the world

and what the genuine role of democratization is in those instances. Let us not try to create something that has been thoroughly tested elsewhere."

Just because I believe that a person who knows how to subordinate himself and become a part of the producing machinery can genuinely use democracy in political life, just because I wholeheartedly subscribe to what Prof. Szczepanski has said does not mean that I am against all of "liberty institutions" which Poland should be equipped with. Just because I am in favor of party-line magazines and a pluralistic press market rather than treating a newspaper as a mobile rostrum where anybody can take the floor does not mean that I share with others the kind of schizophrenia which impels them to demand freedom of speech and abundance of food and booze from the rooftops and at the same time [demand] that "everybody be kept on a short leash."

If we have placed pluralism and democracy on our flag, let us not fly it over every rampart. After all, these values are too delicate for us to roll up the banner in panic when the wind grows stronger.

9761

#### Ideology Not Viewed as Limitation in Effecting Reform

26000226b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
5 Feb 88 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Czyz, director, PZPR CC Ideology Department, by Piotr Rzadca]

[Text]

[Question] I would like to offer my congratulations on your being appointed to the post of department director, and I would like to start with a personal question: Which of your experiences do you consider valuable considering your present field of activity?

[Answer] All my experiences are valuable, my work in the youth movement and my work of a scientific-didactic nature, and later, specific importance must be given to those experiences which I gained as Secretary for Ideological Matters with the Krakow KW [Voivodship Committee] and as Social Director of the National Council for the City of Krakow. The greatest school in political thinking was my participation in preparing materials of the 9th Party Congress and then work on the project for the PZPR Program (I was the secretary of the editing committee), and finally the preparation of the discussions for the 6th KC PZPR Plenum...

[Question] Precisely, many party members as well as the non-aligned expected that the Plenum would take a position on some theoretical questions...

[Answer] I believe that the Plenum has done that. However, it did not put emphasis on answering the question for the way of interpreting reality, or formulating the postulated model of the future. Instead it concentrated on the most important problems—how to change reality, how to shape it as to overcome the present difficulties; how to create conditions for developing the economy and the nation; how to get closer to the social goals of socialism. The significance of the 6th KC Plenum is based primarily on realizing the methods for implementing the program of change which were pointed out by the 10th Congress. In the sphere of the political system the embodiment of these changes, let us recall, is the hastening of the historical process of reshaping the overly centralized model of the nation. It is one whose governing-executive apparatus has been overly enlarged and must be turned in a direction for creating the conditions for liberating social energies, development of self-government, opening real possibilities for citizens' participation in decision making and responsibility, expanding their rights and duties.

In the economic sphere the form of change is the organic joining of effective management with the social values of socialism—justice, high regard for work, self government, subjectivity.

In contemplating these problems an exit point was selected in the form of a proposition, theoretical in nature. First, that socialism in its being is a dynamic system, while the process of its creation is the synthesis of continuity and change in the institutional form, economic and political structures, and the means of exercising authority. In addition the socialistic process of transformation cannot be enclosed in a rigid framework of various phases and taken in isolation from law and the entire inheritance from the previous form. The new society, after all, must grow out of the old through a long historical process in which socialistic premises are gradually built up on "their own foundation." This is the core of the transition period. The third point being that any social development, in this case socialistic transformations as well, cannot be free of contradictions. The recognition of their nature, the search for solutions so that they would not accumulate into a crisis causing factor, but the opposite, into a force for powering development—this is one of the most essential tasks for ideological work and the premise for appropriate policy.

Our activities after the 6th Plenum are to awaken theoretical reflections and to work out a precise plan for realizing the reforms in the government and economy. Let us recall that the Central Committee took up the decision to organize the 3rd All-Poland Ideological-Theoretical Party Conference. This will be devoted to the basic theoretical problems in the process of socialist renewal.

[Question] How then can we describe the main problems in the ideological work and the part played by this department in their solution?

[Answer] I believe that we can identify three planes of ideological activity which at the same time describes the work of the department.

The first is the inspiration of theoretical reflection, a deepened understanding of the key developmental problems, the initiation of scientific research especially that whose goal is the analysis of new phenomena which must be taken into account in the reform policies of the party. This refers to the summing up of experiences and the creative reinterpretation of many concepts so that the concrete research results would become the premises for brave, innovative political acts. This is a field for wide cooperation between the department and the social science centers, especially the Academy of Social Sciences. We have created five permanent teams which have grouped outstanding political theoreticians and activists. Their activities are concentrated on the analysis of the key problems of the nation's development, compiling expert evidence, and on this basis making recommendations for political practice.

In the next few months the work of these teams will be chiefly connected to the preparations for the 3rd All-Poland Party Theoretical Conference. I think that the theme of the conference "The Basic Theoretical Problems of Socialist Renewal" already forecasts the fact that it will address the general problems in the development of modern socialism and the function of Marxism, the motive forces of and the barriers to the process of socialist renewal in Poland, and to the party tasks in four areas:

- the speeding up of qualitative changes in management, connecting effectiveness with fairness
- the development of the Polish model for a socialist democracy and the conditions for its effective function
- the shaping of social awareness and the analysis of its influence on the course of the reforms in the government and economy
- the strengthening of Poland's growing position in the world of cooperation and confrontation

[Question] We will be observing the preparations for the conference and its discussions, reporting the details. After all these are already taking place today, there are various postulates being addressed within the ideological and theoretical-ideological party activity. How are these matters viewed by the director of the KC Ideology Department?

[Answer] We are observing differentiated expectations. This is linked to the various understandings of the functions that ideology plays in the life of the party. I believe that the role of ideology and ideological work cannot be—if this work is not to be wasted on utopias—the building of detailed models of the future or patterns

for activity, according to which practice will be "ideologically legitimized." It has happened, and it still happens that some ideological cannons, shaped under strictly circumscribed historical conditions, have been treated as a collection of axioms, principles, and directives for action which would not change. That they were independent of time and the real alignment of forces and social aspirations. In reference to the policy of socialistic renewal these would then set the limits of change and I would even say that they could stifle reform activities.

Separating myself from the supporters of that position I believe that theoretical thought and the ideology based on it should not be considered a censor nor the pattern against which doctrine and political practice must be compared, but an active factor in that practice. This is so that the Marxist class analysis of reality would allow an answer to the question as to which direction the future must be shaped, revaluing the views which were not confirmed by life. In other words, through the analysis of the rules governing the formation of socialism bring conclusions into politics, making way for changes for which social conditions are ripe. We will pay a high price for neglect in this area.

We may not, however, go to the opposite extreme. Often we find views which negate the possibility of formulating long term goals and the basic principles for activity in achieving them. theoretical work, say the supporters of this view, should test reality, analyze the contradictions, the differentiated social desires, making them the basis for policy to reach partial goals. But this cannot describe the long term goals, build one vision of the state which is its destiny. Persons with these views tend to negate the axiological layer of ideology—its content of ideals, values, general norms of behavior. But I can value the qualities of this position's character, which contain a critique of dogmatically or freely projected models of the future. It is fully justified against the schematic nature of various formulas, against disregarding the real social processes, the disregard for the desires and aspirations of individuals, against the moralizing empty phrase.

I believe, then, that we need to have an awareness of our goal and a diagnosis of the current condition as well. Theory, ideology formed on a scientific basis has not only the right, but the duty to present a prognosis for long range development. It must point out the directions for change which are in accordance to historical laws, and on this basis describe the goals and run in advance of political practice.

[Question] But we do not know many of the answers...

[Answer] True, today we are not able to answer many questions regarding the future of socialist institutional forms, which among them will serve the interests of society in the most effective way. But at the same time we do have theoretical conclusions, principles, and goals for activities which reflect the objective laws of social development, which are in accordance to the long range

interests of working peoples, and express the embodiment of socialism. These were presented in the PZPR Program and reiterated and developed in a report presented by the Political Bureau at the 6th Central Committee Plenum.

These are not propositions, goals, principles that are frozen in place. Every historical period will test them in a confrontation with reality, so that they may be improved and developed. This is an especially important field for theoretical endeavor.

[Question] Are the Marxist social teachings indeed capable of fulfilling this role?

[Answer] I believe that these teachings are legitimized by their great, authentic achievement. But I also think that much remains to be done in order to attain a theoretical basis for the active development of political doctrine and making a way for all the necessary social change. I also think that there is a shortage of sufficiently tested mechanisms which link the research programs with the needs of a changing nation, economy, and society. There is also an insufficient quantity of the ability for stating questions from the point of political practice and of sufficiently functional "bridges" which connect social teachings with the party's daily activities.

[Question] It's a long way from theoretical reasoning to its absorption by every party member...

[Answer] The second plane of our activity deals with events inside the party, and its form is the strengthening of the ideological unity and uniformity in the party. I believe that only the full awareness of goals, strategies for their attainment, a definite ideological and political personality of each party member and all of its links can make the conduct of open politics possible. This policy must be based on wideranging alliances, the development of mechanisms for expressing and reconciling differentiated social interests; on effectively using the blue collar workers' interests as the guiding criteria. After all the blue collar workers are the basic group of working people. Only a party that has conviction in its arguments and the possibility for their realization can think about implementing a program of political and economic reforms. But a "return to the source" is not sufficient. We need to move toward the creation of a new quality. I believe that by strengthening the unified position in the party, in view of the socialistic reforms, we must now, first of all, reinterpret such problems as for example: the process of national understanding, its class existence and the expanding area of socialistic pluralism, that is the mechanism for expressing and reconciling the differentiated social desires and interests, opposition and oppositionism, a stance on the subject of managing property, the limits for a fair differentiation of income and the understanding of the concepts of egalitarianism; finally the direction for further changes in the party,

especially the methods for actualizing its leadership and managerial role in the reformed economy and for broadening its democracy in the political system.

[Question] I think that this undercurrent of introspective work was not sufficiently valued...

[Answer] This is understandable to some degree because all of our attention, the party's efforts, have been directed into the development of a general dialogue in society. The party has no goals of its own excepting those which are the goals of working peoples. The leadership role obligates it to having that leadership expressed as, among other things, a level of theoretical culture, intellectual courage, the ability to promote new ideas and finding public support for them. This is a tremendous assignment for, among other things, the party training apparatus, the active lecturers, and the party publications.

[Question] I think that the department will be taking up new activities having to do with disseminating the party reform program ?

[Answer] Yes, this is the third plane of activity, the party's effect on social awareness in a lively dialogue which will win people over to our program. In this we are guided by the assumption that social awareness is shaped by many factors, especially the social conditions of existence. But there is an "active recognition", an area, a depth and direction of its interests which will not be molded. This does not mean that we should not act, convince, win over; but to be successful we must reach into the existing interests of society. We must, then, have at our disposal a broad analysis of the needs, desires, and opinions in the various groups and conduct constant empirical research; interpret the results expertly and put them to use.

[Question] Taking into account the prevailing social moods in propaganda activities...

[Answer] The implementation of the reform program for the nation and the economy as described at the 6th Plenum and the ideological work connected with this cannot be examined as separate from the socio-political situation or the state of public opinion. The attention of public opinion is focused now, first of all, on the economic difficulties, especially in the areas of income and price policy. There has been an increase in critical appraisal of the economic situation and the perspectives for improvement; there has been an increase in the anxiety about maintaining the standard of living.

In an open, honest dialogue we wish to discuss that which we must do, so that the restrictions we put on today will not be wasted, but become the basis for an improvement. We will consequently expand our knowledge of the laws and mechanisms of development and in this way influence the rationalization of the analysis and expectations which relate to the economy. I believe that

the demonstration of real social goals, which can be attained by affecting changes in management, remains an important postulate. Three factors in social attitude: the belief in the possibility of attaining progress, knowledge about the economic principles and mechanisms, and the feeling of social security and the conviction that a higher standard of living is possible will have the greatest degree of influence on the success of the reform. Its very form dictates that it is not just an economic but chiefly a social process.

We are at a moment in which the movement and limits of the necessary changes in the nation and the economy are coming to a head. The program developed at the 6th Plenum has gained decisive support of the active part of society.

But the dual nature of the results from the referendum and the state of society's moods can weaken the determination among the forces supporting the reform. The "justification" of the half-hearted effort by those who are not convinced about the objective necessity of the changes may promote caution and bureaucratic resistance, giving encouragement to the opponents of the socialistic character of the reforms. We consider it our duty to strengthen the front lines of the reform forces, the will and effectiveness in the actualization of the reforms, and do everything possible so that the legacy of the 6th Plenum would not undergo erosion and be dissolved by various doubts, hesitation, and fears, so that its potential for renewal would not be weakened.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12411

#### Swiderski on Party Cadres, National Leadership Tasks

26000236 Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 11, 13 Mar 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Jerzy Swiderski, director of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee Cadre Department, by Andrzej Malachowski]

[Text]

[Question] The article published two years ago "Are the Best Chosen?" (PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY no 17, 1986) criticizing the implementation of cadre policy principles caused, to say it delicately, some controversy. Since that time, even more critical pronouncements were made but none evoked greater emotional response.

[Answer] This is a result of socialistic renewal and open party politics. It is a positive phenomenon.

[Question] Pardon me, but does not the fact that cadre policy is being criticized evoke an emotional response?

[Answer] Neither one, nor the other. What is important to me is that cadre policy has come out of the quiet of the offices and has become a public matter, after all only through intelligent and critical discussion can we work out its canons.

[Question] I get the impression that after the recent publication, it is not just my own separate feeling that cadre policy has taken on an impetus, chiefly in the verbal arena. It is somewhat worse in its effectiveness.

[Answer] No, I do not share this view. But we can argue whether the speed at which change is taking place is sufficient, or if we are achieving the desired effectiveness? In the face of this accusation, so phrased, I must admit that evolution is proceeding rather slowly, and that even the selection of enterprise directors through competition meets with obstacles.

In the past the competition produced about 2,000 directors for 6,300 enterprises, where this form of choosing cadres is expected. In the past year there were few such competitions, and the whole process did not cause any meaningful changes among the directorial cadres. The so-called average member of the directorial cadre still remains a male 45-50 years old, a member of the PZPR (75 percent), with a long record of employment. The competitions have brought in only 5 percent young people and about 12 percent women. Up to now they have not produced significant changes in cadre selection, which leads to a conviction, in many circles, about their formal character.

Also noticeable is the loss of interest in the competitive selection of cadres in enterprises that find themselves in difficult socio-economic situations. In addition, this form seems to have lost appeal among the candidates because of the conditions for assuming the directorial positions. The causes of this are, among other things, bureaucratic barriers which have excluded certain categories of persons because of age or their length of employment, and also the tendentiousness of certain competition teams.

We want to develop this form of cadre selection, eliminating all flaws, and using our best experiences. It gives even chances to all because the main criteria which decide are the candidate's abilities and his attitude.

[Question] Prof Bogdan Wawrzyniak of the Organizational Institute for Cadre Management and Development wrote, in an article published in PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY (no. 8, entitled "Finding the Man"), that "Polish cadre policy has not been freed from the classic model for its conduct. This model was characteristic among the economically developed countries of the world at the end of the 19th century and the first two or three decades of the 20th. This is a model for cadre administration. Worse yet, in our case, it has been politicized and shows constant tendencies toward centralization."

[Answer] The KC PZPR Department of Cadre Policy is cooperating with Prof Wawrzyniak, so this opinion is not a surprise to us. In present cadre policy the main goal is to escape the corset of centralization, administration, and excessive politicization.

We must, however, remember, that this is a process which cannot be decreed day after day. Even if the barriers posed by conditions and regulations are bypassed there still are psychological barriers. They even exist inside the party at various levels. On one side, the accusation is made that the "Main Assumptions for PZPR Cadre Policy" formulated at the 13th KC PZPR Plenum in November 1983 are not being realized quickly enough. On the other side, there is the accusation of a departure from principle. This is not just a question of view, but of specific situations. It happens that there are persons who support the principles of cadre policy only while the concepts remain an abstraction. But when, without an assured victory, they must participate in a competition for a directorial position, they change their minds.

[Question] Meanwhile, in the social awareness there is a necessity, again citing Prof Wawrzyniak, "for the PZPR to reflect on the appropriateness of self-limitation in steering cadre policy."

[Answer] First, I do not agree that all of society shares this feeling, because, as I have already said, opinions on this subject are often extreme. Second, the postulate of "PZPR self-limitation" is somewhat demagogic. I cannot imagine a ruling party, in the West or the East, which would exclude cadre policy from its program. We must clearly and openly state that PZPR will in the future, as now, retain its influence on cadre selection, but will at the same time seek the approval of society for its decisions. This model is certainly necessary from the viewpoint of having an orderly nation, the strategy for its development, and the interests of the whole society.

[Question] Then we have a hierarchy, with central administration of cadres at all levels?

[Answer] No. What I have said does not mean that things are settled arbitrarily. First of all there is the role of giving inspiration, so that teams of people would become active, liberating creative involvement, and finally guarding against the return of cadre politics into the area administrative management. The appropriate thing for the party to do is to find the best and promote them.

Cadre policy is a significant part of socialistic renewal. At the 13th KC PZPR Plenum new principles were established for it. A new method for action was accepted for appointing managerial cadres at all party levels. The so-called cadre hierarchy was abandoned. The principle for giving opinion and receiving recommendations about candidates was accepted. Important directorial positions are encompassed with policy decisions and are

the objects of agreements and consultations in the cooperation committees of the PZPR, ZSL [Peasant Party], and the SD [Democratic Party]. The role of representative organs in the government and self-governments has grown within the process of making decisions concerning the cadres.

The party, in managing policy making, sets a perspective for development, takes care of the selection and placement of cadres, and general controls. The realization of cadre policy takes place in the democratic procedure of election and appointment of persons to directorial positions.

An important part in the selection of cadres can be played by PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], but that organization must work out the methods. The party, as one of the signatories to this movement, is interested in broadening the social base for cadre selection, because it is not important where a person comes from, what he represents is what matters.

This party viewpoint is the result of, among other things, the greater socialization of the nation, the appearance of new subjects in social life, the appearance of new representative forms. In addition, a new method of cadre selection is required by the economic reform.

[Question] Meanwhile the implementation program of the second phase of the reform only mentions cadre policy in a pedestrian manner. It is well known, however, that the reform requires, as Prof Andrzej Tymowski said in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, persons with virtues which have not been given preference in years. We need those willing to take a risk, while being smart and be able to visualize many events in perspective. In turn only the reform can discover such people, or functioning managers may be given conditions for effective activity. Then we have something like a four-cornered wheel.

[Answer] This is not a four-cornered wheel, but rather a system of interconnected vessels which in time, that is as quickly as possible, should all fill each other. As for written text on the subject of cadre policy in the implementation program of the second phase of the reform, it is true that there the document has little to say. The framework for the model of cadre policy has been, however, well defined in party documents.

There is nothing standing in the way of fully integrating cadre policy into the economic reform. The matter in question is the rapid creation of a governmental system for working with cadres, which must be worked out by the government.

[Question] The basic document for cadre policy "Main Assumptions" was created in 1983, and possibly for that reason it must align itself to a new reality in various areas.

[Answer] Cadre policy may not be isolated from the existing reality. At this time there is a wide difference between the detailed lawful regulations and the expected practice. And in this sense even the "Main Assumptions" require certain modifications. But the slowdowns in implementing the accepted model of cadre policy stem, in my opinion, chiefly from poor practice. This in turn is due to conservatism, relative comfort of status quo, particularism, games played by various interests. Unfortunately, the cult of being average is still with us.

An assessment of all these phenomena will be made by the next KC PZPR Plenum, which will be devoted to cadre policy. It will also, one should expect, develop various elements of cadre policy and describe the goals and assignments for its practice.

It is necessary to create ideological and political conditions, in the course of reforming the economy and the nation, to get optimal use from the intellectual potential present in the people. This must be done through the socialization and democratization of cadre selection and the expansion of the recruitment phase to include all talented individuals, regardless of their age, party affiliation, or world view—but accepting the socialist character of the state.

[Question] "Main Assumptions" describes the near absolute necessity for enlarging the number of non-party people among the directorial cadre, something that I find satisfying as a non-party person. But in practice, less satisfying to me, is the minimal percentage of non-affiliated directors. In a general accounting one looks at the efficient functioning of the managerial cadre, its effectiveness. But the visible cadre policy, the young, old, party, non-party, believers, and non-believers on various career paths is a matter only for the methods of cadre selection—which, after all, do not guarantee the desired effectiveness.

[Answer] I do not agree with this view. First, among those appointed to directorial posts in the last year 32 percent were non-party. Of the directorial positions in economic units—12 percent are held by non-party members, while foremen and team leaders—80 percent. Now we can speak about some tendencies registered in practice. Second, the base from which the best may be chosen, party and non-party, is being expanded.

[Question] This is true, but only to the point that even the best will only be average if they are not equipped with the proper instruments.

[Answer] Cadre policy should be determined by two basic and rather initial elements: the democratization of life and changes in the nation's economy. The first item will decide the method of cadre selection. The second should correct its quality as expressed in professionalism, effectiveness, and drive.

[Question] The last item requires not only intellectual acuity but courage as well. A careless director, regardless of good past performance, can easily run afoul, as it is so nicely put, the "prosecutor" because of one bad decision. It is not difficult to notice that this is the reason why many managers lack the readiness to take risks.

[Answer] This is why the directorial cadre must have the right to take risks. But there are two separate points in the question. First, the responsibility for bad decisions. No one will absolve the cadres from this responsibility when the result is a serious economic loss. In past times it was our frequent obligation, as a society, to pay high prices for poor decisions. Therefore, I am against the tendency to depersonalize responsibility.

The second point, and I strongly support this, is the creation of a climate and specific rules for taking risks in making decisions which are justified in a societal or economic context. The directorial cadre, which I have just mentioned, must have this right because it is the condition for innovation and boldness in thinking and doing.

In assessing the directorial cadres we must take into account the general balance of profit or loss. A positive balance must be the deciding factor. The right to take risks must be justified when the opportunity arises to update the law.

[Question] Surely these are necessary and expected changes. But I think that an effective cadre policy is based on many factors. In sociological studies we have detected an unwillingness, among a greater part of those employed in the socialized part of the economy, in linking their life's career to advancement. This is not without influence.

[Answer] There are many more elements that slow progress. The main problem, in my opinion, depends on the fact that we have not been able to solve the dilemma of payment for mental effort in a positive way. Essentially, work is associated with the performance of a physical task. But this is an anachronism. Is this why a large group of talented persons sees no sense in advancement? Possibly so. But rather because they do not wish to advance in an ineffective structure and to poorly paid managerial positions. If the economic reform is to bring measurable results, then, one can assume that the attitude toward advancement will change.

[Question] But the potential of youth is getting away, especially from the party. It is true, statistics tell us that in 1985 for 2.1 million PZPR members 18.3 percent had a higher education; in 1970 for 2.3 million it was 7.9 percent, while the number of young people, under 30, had gone down. In 1970 the young constituted one-fourth of all members, in 1985 only 7 percent, while those in the student age group, 18 to 24 years, amounted to 1.1 percent.

[Answer] This is indeed a worrisome manifestation, because, should this tendency continue, the party will have a problem in a shortage of the young intellectual elite. This is why able, educated persons in the party must be noticed early and given the opportunity for self-realization.

I think that with the improvement of the economic situation in the nation, which will depend on the success of the economic reform, many young people will realize that the fulfillment of their own expectations is tied to the program in the process of realization. But for this improvement to happen, the young must involve themselves in the process of renewal more widely.

I would like to add that the participation of young people in the directorial cadre is a separate and a very serious problem. One could even say that the resolutions of the 9th and 13th KC Plenum which had to do with the promotion of young cadres have not been fully accomplished. The participation of young people in the central cadre reserve is not high, only 16 percent.

A number of organizational units in the village communities do not have cadres with a high level of education, something essential for decentralized management. 26 percent of the village community bureaus do not have a single worker with a higher education. In the village community "Peasant Self-Help" cooperative there are only 924 persons with a higher education, 20 percent of the village communities do not have a dentist, 46 percent do not have a pharmacist, there is a shortage of lawyers, economists, engineers, doctors, and teachers in the rural areas. All this is making the implementation of the second phase of the reform and decentralization all that much more difficult.

For the young to link their career with the village or the small city we must improve the level of civilization there. But this is a subject which deserves a separate interview.

[Question] The shortage of an educated cadre in managerial positions which require energy and, let us say, imagination, is painful. But when one is working with percentages, what can be done in the case of the non-party members, the members of various socio-political organizations, women, and other categories of people, giving those individuals to understand that their percentage of participation should rise—then all this is beginning to, pardon the expression, "smell" like the quota method.

[Answer] The quota method was to guarantee representation for various social groups in the governing bodies. Because it was often used mechanically, it did not bring the desired result. At present we are not merely interested in improving the statistics. The problem is decidedly deeper. After all, these young people who today are taking their first steps on the way to advancement,

should, in a few years assume important positions. If we do not open this road for them now we will, in the future, lose the continuity of generations.

[Question] We are talking about cadre policy which uses its goals and assignments in order to create a directorial cadre.

[Answer] One could say that around the concept of "cadre policy" are many conflicting viewpoints. Should it lead only to create a directorial cadre, or be active on a larger plane? Personally, I think that cadre policy should answer the question of which criteria should a man in a given position fulfill. It must also see all employees as the subjects of the work process and social life. In looking for a method of increasing effectiveness one must first reach into the emotional sphere. After all, people, with their mental activity, their inventiveness, their knowledge are our nation's greatest reserve.

[Question] It is said that in any well functioning enterprise about 10 percent of the employees are the so-called leaders. These are the active, the inventive people, in other words, those who want to do. These are not necessarily the directors and managers but often the line workers.

[Answer] This is the capital, among other things, which is often wasted. These people are often a problem to their bosses and to their surroundings because, in the opinion of others, they are disrupting the peace, presenting a threat and so on. They cannot seem to find a place for themselves.

[Question] But often, in spite of the best intentions, no one seems to know what to do with them, especially if for formal reasons they cannot be promoted.

[Answer] I think there are people, even the most valuable, who must be protected from promotion. But I must add that I am referring to vertical promotion. After all, an excellent milling machine operator may not turn out to be a great factory team leader.

In our system, promotion is associated with the rung by rung climb to the top. Because of this we have become a nation of directors and administrators, a nation of manager-gnomes. This is the result of much mis-rule by the cadre mechanisms and stiff pay regulations. Making the assumption that in our country we have about a million functionarial positions for the 18.5 million people employed in the socialized and unsocialized economy. This proportion has no rational basis.

For good measure there is no such thing as horizontal advancement. In the cadre policy for industrial enterprises we must work out clear and long range ways for promoting workers. A man should know what conditions he should satisfy to advance not just vertically but horizontally, what assistance he will receive from the enterprise, and what will be the material gains and moral

consequences of the promotion etc. These ways or networks for advancement could be an excellent instrument for professional development among the workers, awaking their ambitions, making them subjective, and humanizing their work. It is worth remembering for the entire model of cadre policy, that a raise in pay is important, it is not always the only thing.

There is another side to this coin: quitting a position. One could say that this is a problem of a broader nature beyond the limits of policy. But cadre policy should create a climate of normalcy for the creation, evaluation, and retraction. We must improve the very negative connotation associated with leaving one job for another. Full information should be given as to the motivation associated with a recall, release, or dismissal. Leaving a directorial position should not interrupt one's professional activity, if the individual has the desire, energy, and ability.

[Question] Then we have the creation, or rather the existence, of the problem with cadre rotation, and its exchange during the implementation of the second phase of the reform. At least a part exchange.

[Answer] The basic problem here is the maintenance of proportion between the stabilization of the directorial cadre and its continual renewal. The goal is to assure an inflow of new people and with them new ideas, new solutions, as to avoid stagnation, but so that there would be no shakeup in the continuity of the entire governmental and economic apparatus.

The party solves this problem by introducing, since the 9th Congress, the principle that a person cannot fill the same position for longer than two terms.

But this may not be transferred mechanically, for example, to the economy. But it is necessary to search for conditions which would be favorable to the rotation of cadres.

In general I think that the entire cadre policy, especially that implemented on the lower levels, needs a definite intellectual underpinning. An instrument unappreciated and ignored by the management of many enterprises are the workers' service groups. They should take on the rational management of the cadres. In the general scheme they concern themselves with the intake and release of workers.

Often the managerial cadre on various levels possesses too small an amount of knowledge and ability in the areas of social politics, organization, industrial psychology, and social technique for managing groups of people. This knowledge is not sufficiently imparted at the institutions of higher learning, especially the technical schools. Meanwhile we have a managerial cadre of which a greater part consists of engineers. They understand various technologies well, but it happens that they do not understand people.

In highly industrialized countries the management of cadres is a great, specialized, important part of business. There are even agencies of "head hunters" or firms specializing in finding the appropriate manager as per order.

[Question] To us this is exotic, and speaking in metaphor, a song of the future.

[Answer] Not true. This is a hard demand of modern times. I am fully aware of it.

[Question] Thank you for the interview. At the same time I would like to propose a meeting with you in a year and then talk about the effects of the cadre policy now being implemented.

[Answer] Very well. However, we will not wait until that meeting, and will systematically inform the public about the activities undertaken and their results.

12411

**Selected Voivodship People's Councils' Sessions Reported**

26000264 Warsaw RADA NARODOWA in Polish  
No 6-9, 6, 13, 20, 27 Feb 88

[Unattributed reports: "Sessions of the Voivodship People's Councils"]

[No 6, 6 Feb 88, p 12]

[Excerpts]

**18 December 1987**

In Gdansk, an evaluation of the ability to ensure agriculture production resources was made. Four council members took part in the discussion and pointed, among other things, to the instability in supplies of production resources, especially nitrate fertilizers, pesticides, coal, diesel fuel, and others, for agriculture. The poor quality of the feed produced by Bacutil was also noted.

The implementation of the program to counteract social pathology and parasitism was also evaluated.

Resolutions on the plan for work in 1988, creating a voivodship fund for implementing a coordinated system for traffic control, expressing an opinion on the change in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Regional Court in Wejherowo, and changing the performance of the functions of the chairman of the Social Council of the Physical Education Academy in Gdansk were adopted.

Six interpellations were presented on, among other things: the operation of the Emergency Service in Gdansk, the sale of coal for small-scale manufacturing, retention of meat rationing for families and owner's of specialized farms of 1 hectare, and obtaining wood for fuel from the forests.

Attendance was 71.5 percent.

In Lesno, the state of agriculture and the food industry were evaluated and a program for development in these areas through 1990 was adopted. A plan of work by the Voivodship People's Council and a plan of work by the Council Presidium for the first half of 1988 were adopted; reports by the permanent commissions of the Council for 1987 were also received.

Resolutions were also adopted on joining the convention on restoring ecological order to the Warta River Basin, increasing the voivodship budget for 1987, and providing the State Farm in Kietlow with working capital.

Attendance was 65 percent.

**22 December 1987**

In Kielce, the terms of the 1988 annual plan were examined. During the discussion, the council members pointed to cases of neglect, especially in the health service, environmental protection, education, and communal services. Optimal variants were selected that will form the basis for developing a proposed plan for 1988. A Collegium for Misdemeanors for the District Mining Office in Kielce was chosen, the plan of work for 1988 was adopted, and reports on the final results of the referendum and recommendations drawn from the campaign preceding it were accepted.

Attendance was 68.1 percent.

In Plock, reports on the implementation of socio-economic tasks for the 11 months of 1987 were heard. Tasks for the people's councils and residents' self-government bodies, deriving from the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform, were discussed.

A plan of work for the Voivodship People's Council and a plan of work for the Council Presidium for the first half of 1988 were adopted.

One interpolation on the supplies of medicines and bandages in Plock was presented.

Attendance was 60 percent.

In Tarnow, the voivodship annual plan and budget and the voivodship fund for the development of culture for 1988 were adopted.

Resolutions were adopted on changes in the resolution of the Voivodship People's Council of June 1986 on the voivodship program for volunteer civic actions for 1986-90, on changes in the voivodship annual investment plan for 1987, and on changes in the membership of the Voivodship People's Council.

Fifteen interpellations and recommendations were presented on, among other things: making the ration of coal uniform and larger, the shortage of diesel fuel, difficulties with telephone connections, irregularities in the scheduled bus service of the State Motor Transport and Municipal Transportation Enterprise, and making Lipnica Dolna a mountain area.

Attendance was 72 percent.

[No 7, 13 Feb 88, p 12]

[Excerpts]

### 23 December 1987

The Voivodship People's Council met in Konin.

The annual plan and budget for the voivodship for 1988 was adopted. Changes in the membership of the Council and a change in the chairman of the Commission of Economic and Regional Planning and Financial Management of the Council were made. Social inspectors for the Regional Rural Inspectorate were selected, and a plan of work for the Voivodship People's Council for the first half of 1988 was adopted.

Reports on the implementation of the socio-economic plan for 1986-90, the government program and schedule for preventing and combating symptoms of social pathology, and crime for 1986-90, and the Council's resolution of 1983 on the living conditions for the younger generation and its role in socio-economic life.

Five interpellations on the construction of a school in Kaweczyn, on the construction of a postal and telecommunications building in Grabow, on the enlargement of rations of nitrate fertilizers and construction materials for the Przykon gmina, and on the collection of lump-sum payments for water use by consumers.

Attendance was 75 percent.

### 28 December 1987

In Czestochowa, an evaluation of the state and directions of the development of culture and art in the voivodship was made, and reports on the implementation of the program to prevent crime and combat social pathology were heard. Social inspectors for the Regional Rural Inspectorate for 1988-89 were named.

Reports on the operation of the Regional Rural Inspectorate for 1987 were heard, and an annex to the program for the development of physical education and tourism for 1986-90 was adopted.

Additional credits from income above that planned were adopted, and changes in the investment plans of the local authorities for 1987 were made.

Attendance was 75 percent

In Walbrzych, the voivodship annual plan and a budget for the voivodship People's Council, a voivodship fund for the development of culture, and voivodship fund for the development of physical education for 1988 were adopted.

Resolutions were also adopted on the plans for work of the Council and the Council Presidium for 1988, on changes in the voivodship budget for 1987, on subsidies to prices for tourist and recreation services and some goods directly associated with the service of tourism in the voivodship, on releasing some enterprises from making payments to the central voivodship account for 1987, and on the expiration of the mandate in election district no 15.

Attendance was 67.7 percent.

### 29 December 1987

In Kalisz, a report on the state of construction in the voivodship with particular emphasis on housing construction was heard and an appropriate resolution was adopted. The plan of work for the Voivodship People's Council and its bodies for the first half of 1988 was adopted.

Resolutions were also adopted on the enlargement of budget credits from income above that planned, the reduction of the lower limit for the voivodship reserve fund, and equipping local state enterprises with fixed and working resources, naming a group for developing proposals for decentralization in the voivodship.

Four interpellations were presented on resigning from the liquidation of the rail lines in the gmina of Dzialdowa Kłoda, on the incorrect marking of the domestic roads on the route Ciechocinek-Kalisz-Bydgoszcz, halting the construction of the housing unit in the village of Wyszko in the gmina of Kotlin, the ending of the obligation of obtaining a permit for raising bulls.

Attendance was 73 percent.

In Legnica, a long-term program for developing the villages in Legnica Voivodship to the year 2000 was adopted. During the discussion 11 people spoke, including 10 council members, who, among other things, drew attention to the state of the water supply in the rural

areas, the need for land reclamation, proper land management, environmental protection in rural areas, difficulties in supplying agriculture with production resources, and the difficult situation of women in rural areas. An evaluation of the resolution of the Council on the program for developing culture and the development of physical education to 1995 was made. Reports on the implementation of the law on measures to be taken against individuals refusing to work and on the work of the Council Presidium between session were heard, and a resolution on the plan for work for the Council during the first half of 1988 was adopted. A resolution on changing the city boundaries of Lubin was adopted.

Sixteen interpellations were present and 13 recommendations on, among other things, accelerating the repairs of the health service center, improvement in the operation of telecommunication in the rural areas, hunting damages, shortages of vegetable fats and diesel fuel.

Attendance was 62 percent.

In Opole, the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1988 were adopted. An evaluation of the implementation of tasks associated with the law on rearing children in non-alcoholic conditions and combating alcoholism and an evaluation of the implementation of the schedule of tasks outlined in the resolution of the Council of State of 10 July 1986 on tasks laid out by the 10th PZPR Congress were made.

Resolutions were adopted on transferring some affairs, organizational units, and authority to the people's councils at the basic level, on including some gmina in the second tax group as regards agricultural taxes, on transforming the Office for the Documentation of Monuments into the Voivodship Center for the Study and Documentation of Monuments, and on the plan of work for the Council and Council Presidium to the end of their term in office.

Attendance was 75 percent.

In Zielona Gora, reports on the implementation of the program for improving goods and services for the people and on the state of work in implementing the second stage of the economic reform in the operation of the local state administrative bodies were heard. Eight council members took part in the discussion.

Attendance was 69 percent.

### 30 December 1987

In Radom, reports on the operation of the local self-governments in the voivodship in the light of the provisions of the law of 20 July 1983 on the system of people's councils and local self-governments and on the implementation of the framework program for the operation of the Voivodship People's Council for the term in office for 1984-88 were heard.

Reports on the course and results of the national referendum in the voivodship and recommendations were heard.

Five interpellations were presented on, among other things, updating the regional planning plan for the City and Gmina of Nowe Miasto on the Pilica, on transferring the rural construction Plant in Zdzary to the City and Gmina People's Council in Nowe Miasto on the Pilica, the construction of a road connecting the railroad station in Grabow with the village of Boska Wola in the gmina of Stromiec, on private transportation services providing services for units of the socialized sector.

Attendance was 67.1 percent.

[No 8, 20 Feb 88, p 12]

[Excerpts]

### 30 December 1987

In Siedlce, the Council heard a report on the operation of the people's councils of the basic level and their bodies during the term in office in Kaluszyn and Wojcieszkow, a report by the Siedlce voivod on the implementations of election proposals and recommendations made during the campaign for the people's councils in 1984, and a report on the operations of the Commission on Goods for the People and Consumer Protection and the Commission on Environmental Protection and Water Management of the Voivodship People's Councils during the current term in office.

Resolutions were also adopted on, among other things: agreeing to the formation in the city of Siedlce of an office of the Mikrokomputer Production and Sales Enterprise of Warsaw, making changes in the budget of the Council for 1987, establishing the localization of investments with significance for the whole voivodship, procedures for recommendations of broad social significance made by citizens at the meeting, a plan of work for the Voivodship People's Council for the first half of 1988.

Attendance was 78.5 percent.

### 5 January 1988

The People's Council of the City of Krakow met. In recognition of his outstanding service for Krakow, especially in saving and renovating its monuments, Prof Henryk Jablonski was made an honorary citizen of the City of Krakow. Directions for the development of agriculture and the food industry in the Krakow agglomeration to the year 2000 were set. An evaluation of the state of security and public order and the implementation of the law on raising children in non-alcoholic conditions and the combating of alcoholism was made.

The localizations of 19 investments with significance for the whole voivodship were accepted. A plan of operation for the Council for the first half of 1988 was adopted.

The Krakow Center for Agricultural Advancement, the City Street Cleaning Enterprise, and the Krakow Directorate for Investment were given financial aid from the reserve fund.

Nine interpellations were presented on, among other things: the localization of a new emergency station, the poisoning of the Wisla with phenols by the Lenin Steelworks, and the transfer of agricultural land for the construction of housing in the gmina of Mogilana.

Wladyslaw Jonkisz, a member of the Council of State, participated in the session.

Attendance was 80 percent.

### 8 January 1988

In Katowice, an evaluation of the organization of school, health, and social care for handicapped, mentally retarded, and special children and young people and the plans contemplated in this area to 1995 was made.

Reports by the Ministry of Industry on the implementation of tasks in light of the multi-year program for the protection and management of the environment in the voivodship in the chemical industry were heard.

A report on the operations of the City People's Council in Rybnik and the City and Gmina People's Council in Ogodzieniec and a report on the operations of the Council Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council between sessions were accepted.

Five interpellations were presented on improving transportation, telephone communications in Wodzislawie Slaskie, the viaduct in Bedzin, and access to the valuable collections of the Slask Library.

Attendance was 74.5 percent.

In Zamosc, the voivodship annual plan and budget and the voivodship fund for the development of culture for 1988 were adopted. Opinions of the Socio-Economic Council of the Voivodship People's Council were heard. A plan of work for the Council for the first half of 1988 was also adopted.

A resolution was adopted on the formation of a joint People's Council for the City and Gmina of Jozefowie.

Attendance was 72 percent.

[No 9, 27 Feb 88, p 12]

[Excerpts]

### 25 January 1988

In Ciechanow, the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1988 were adopted. An evaluation of the performance of the election program and the program of the operations of the Voivodship People's Council for the term in office of 1984-88 and implementation of election proposals made during the elections to the people's councils and the Sejm was made jointly with the Voivodship PRON Council.

A proposal was made to accelerate the implementation of investments to stop the degradation of the natural environment, to shorten the investment cycle for educational facilities and health service projects, and to improve the efficiency in all areas of the economy.

Three interpellations were presented on the supply of water in the rural areas, land reclamation, and the construction of a grain elevator.

Attendance was 73 percent.

A group of young people from the High School for Administration in Ciechanow participated in the session.

In Legnica, the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1988 were adopted. During the discussion the need to increase supplies of lime and pesticides for agriculture, the necessity to reclaim land (according to the National-Socio-Economic Plan a minimum of 110 hectares), and the need for efforts to halt the decline in the head of livestock were mentioned. The need to discipline the economy with targeted funds and to make changes in the organization of retail trade to improve the supplies of goods and services for society was also pointed out.

Nine recommendations and 22 interpellations were presented. They concerned such things as repairs to local roads, shortages of bread and edible oils, solving the problem of a lack of employment for graduates of medical schools, irregular garbage removal, a shortage of animal feed and substitute resources for raising calves.

Attendance was 62 percent.

In Lodz, the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1988 were adopted. The discussion touched on the key problems in the development of Lodz and the voivodship, for example, the need to build a second water intake on the Sulejow-Lodz water pipeline and to construct a municipal sewage treatment plant, the need to accelerate the rate of housing construction and to increase the number of homes for older and handicapped people.

One interpellation on the acceleration of the finalized procedures for taking over the land for the Smulsko-Poludnie housing development for the construction of 300 single-family units was presented.

Attendance was 74.2 percent.

**26 January 1988**

In Krosno, the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1988 were adopted. The discussion touched on the problems of increasing the performance of housing construction, repairs, and modernization of older housing units, on the improvement in agricultural production, especially wheat and slaughter animals, on the improvement of the physical facilities for education and training, and on the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

Resolutions were also adopted on confirming the expiration of the mandates of the members of the Voivodship People's Council and confirming the plan of work for the Council Presidium for the first half of 1988.

Attendance was 77 percent.

**27 January 1988**

In Elblag, the voivodship annual plan and budget and the voivodship fund for development of culture for 1988 were adopted. During the discussion four members spoke in favor of the adoption of the proposals presented at the session.

Fifteen interpellations were presented on, among other things: traffic signals on one of the streets in Malbork, extending natural gas service to the village of Gardej, construction of a crossing over the railroad tracks, increasing the number of gasoline stations in the voivodship, improving road conditions.

Attendance was 70 percent.

In Katowice, reports on the operations of the City People's Councils in Tychy, the City and Gmina People's Councils in Wolbromie, and the Gmina People's Council in Zbraslawice were heard. The voivodship fund for the development of culture in 1988 was adopted.

The plan of work for the Voivodship People's Council and the Council Presidium for the first half of 1988 was adopted.

Positions were also taken on the problems of environmental protection, especially on the increased investment costs in this area.

Three interpellations were presented on the supply of water for the city and gmina of Czechowice-Dziedzice, the repair of the movie theater in Tychy, and winter vacations for children and young people.

Jerzy Nawrocki, a member of the Council of State, participated in the session.

Attendance was 81 percent.

In Ostroleka, the voivodship annual plan and budget for 1988 were adopted. The discussion touched on the better use of the resources for agricultural production, on the development of small-scale manufacturing and services, on full implementation of the plan for housing construction, and the repair of housing, on maintaining the rate of implementation of agricultural investments, especially land reclamation, on supplies for the rural areas of water, coal, fertilizers, and construction materials, and on the development of agricultural education.

Reports on the operations of the Council Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council for the period between sessions were heard, and a resolution on the complete electrification of some villages and the modernization of electrical power facilities in the voivodship for 1988 were adopted.

Thirteen interpellations and recommendations were presented on, among other things: maintaining the controlled distribution of rotary mowers, the construction of a telecommunications office in Makow Mazowiecki, the operation of the veterinary emergency service, the construction of a high voltage line, the construction of roads in the Gmina of Baranowo, the supply of coal for the boilers in Ostrowa Mazowiecka, warranty repairs of power saws, construction of a regional house in Kaczyny Wypychy.

Attendance was 65 percent.

In Radom, the voivodship annual plan and budget and the voivodship fund for the development of culture in 1988 were adopted.

The voivodship annual plan for 1988 includes provisions on an increase in production and services in all areas of the material sphere, on the development of education and the health service, and social services, and on the initiation of efforts to implement the second stage of the economic reform in the system of units in the local plans. Eight council members supporting the recommendations presented during consultations spoke during the discussion.

Sixteen interpellations and recommendations were presented on, among other things: the conditions of safety in the area of the water intakes, construction of new, and changes in the location of existing, bus stops for the State Motor Transport and the Municipal Transportation Enterprise, increasing the ration of gasoline for the veterinary emergency service, construction of schools in Goszczyn and Zakrzew, improvement of the road surfaces in the gmina of Zakrzew, connection of the water lines in four village administrator's offices in the gmina of Pionki, exclusion of the villages of the gmina of Wolanow from the plan for the construction of water lines, expansion of the facilities of the Petroleum Products Agency, construction of bakeries and schools in Radom, the supply of technical gases for units in the socialized sector.

Attendance was 90.5 percent.

**PZPR Voivodship Plenum in Skieriewice  
Reported**

26000226c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
1 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by: Andrzej Smyczek: "The Situation Requires Necessary Deep Reforms"]

[Text] During KW [Voivodship Committee] PZPR plenary discussions in Skieriewice on 30 Jan 1988 the shape of the assignments for the party voivodship organization took form as Resolution 6 of the KC PZPR.

The plenum spoke out for the speeding up of economic reforms and the democratization of political life. A member of the KC PZPR Political Bureau and Vice-Marshal of the Sejm Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski participated in the discussions which were presided over by the KW PZPR First Secretary in Skieriewice Leszek Miller.

The economic situation requires necessary and deep reforms. The coming years which, will decide if our economy is "to be or not to be", will be the difficult test of the quality of party leadership. We must fit the forms and methods of propaganda, education, and political activities to the changing conditions. The purpose is to prepare aware, active, and involved participants for the socio-economic life. This was stressed in the discussion.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski emphasized in his speech that party members must bear the responsibility for accomplishing the necessary changes and that is why the modern meaning of leadership is reform; the exchange of the ineffective for the efficient, and the undemocratic for the democratic. The speaker at this time pointed out the similar chord, and even an interdependence, in the process of socio-economic change in Poland and the Soviet Union.

During an intermission in the discussions, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the participants of the "Vanguard of the 21st Century" camp located in the Skieriewice Voivodship.

12411

**Ministerial, Sejm's Legislative Initiatives  
Discussed**

26000231b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
10 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Bierc, secretary, Legislative Council under Council of Ministers, by Krzysztof Pleśniski]

[Text]

[Question] Changes in our nation's political, legislative, and economic systems are proceeding faster than ever before. An active part is being played by the legislative

community, with the Legislative Council at its head. What is it precisely, and what are its functions?

[Answer] To answer in the broadest possible manner, it is an advisory body to the President of the Ministers' Council for matters connected with the creation of new laws. Its basic function is to issue opinions on government legislative programs, and projects for legislation that would have a significant effect in our system of law. The council also issues opinions on lawmaking projects which are passed on to the Sejm by the National Council or are initiated by the representatives.

[Question] Surely the issuing of opinions on projects for laws is not its only task?

[Answer] Of course not. Among its other functions particular stress should be put on the council's promotion of qualitative changes in our system of law. This is evident primarily in our reports on the state of the law which, in addition to detailed analysis and assessments of the valid law, also point out directions for rebuilding the law. For example a report that we issued in 1986 became the incentive for the creation of the government's legislative work program for 1988-1990, and inspired the fundamental updating of all law codes.

The council also took up—a pioneering move under the prevailing conditions—research concerning the effectiveness of law. Its results will have a significant influence on all legislative initiatives and will permit, possibly, to preserve our system of law from ineffective and misdirected solutions.

[Question] For several years we have noticed increased legislative activity in the Sejm. New regulations are issued, but it cannot be said that through their existence our reality is more precisely regulated or that by looking into the Law Daily everything in the field of law becomes clear.

[Answer] Truly, recently a large number of new regulations has gone into effect. We should not be surprised, just look at the changes taking place in Polish social, political, and economic life. The new philosophy of our collective existence requires new laws which better express the new ideas. A number of occurrences taking place now, will have critical influence on the government and the nation, but a few years ago these were not yet observed. Moreover, objective changes in the technical and social structure warrant new solutions. Soon we will meet up with problems which could not be solved under the existing state of the law.

One only has to mention at this point the new fields of endeavor such as genetic engineering, medical transplants, or even satellite television. To avoid eventual "surprises" which could result from "still life", we also try to forecast the developments in the field of law.

I must admit that the system of law in effect is unsettled and shaky, but this is a fact common to all periods of change. This is true in the case of rebuilding the law. The upcoming three year period will surely be a time for definitive revaluation as to the content but also to the method of creating new regulations. Today, the burning problem is the existence of old (pre-reform) laws which came into existence during a period when a different style dominated all concepts of the economy. These are detailed and all encompassing, therefore causing a lot of difficulty in activating the awaited forms of enterprise, they do not assure the right to economic freedom.

[Question] How will you counteract this?

[Answer] Several solutions to this problem are contained in the government's program for legislative work. Most likely there will be a meeting of one of the teams in the Legislative Council during which ways of acting in this new to all situation will be discussed. I hope that our suggestions will be taken into consideration and as a result all normalization will be overruled as unnecessary. It must be stressed, however, that a review of the "department law" which is still in effect and its basic "thinning out" cannot be regarded as the final solution in any case.

[Question] But what can be the solution? Did not the reorganization of the branch ministries in itself eliminate the return of the departments in the eyes of the law?

[Answer] The reorganization of the ministries can limit this phenomenon but, in my opinion, it will not eliminate it. This can only be assured through the appropriate changes in the system of creating the laws. The important thing is that, first of all, the laws are so constructed so that the bulk of the regulations are contained within them. At the same time there should be no authorizations for executive bylaws or these should be limited (for example-to one). I believe that this direction in creating legislation will find support in the bill concerning law-making. The Legislative Council has fully supported its approval. Similarly in the case of giving greater importance to the so-called leading bills (that is most important in some fields) and the legal codes which, because of their nature, are stable and brief in their wording.

[Question] The Legislative Council has recently issued an opinion in reference to a projected bill dealing with the principles for undertaking economic activity. Do you think that the acceptance of these new regulations can speed up the economic reform?

[Answer] If one is to accept the premise that the leading thought in this bill is the principle of the freedom to undertake economic activity ("industrial freedom") which includes a description of its limits, then we will be dealing with a legal act which will most surely express the assumptions of the economic reform and stimulate the desired economic processes. There is much significance in the fact that its acceptance would allow for it to, at least partly, "absorb" four other legal acts previously in force. Much depends on the form these regulations will take, up to now our opinion concerns the assumptions only.

At the same time the Legislative Council believes that the projected bill should treat the initiation of economic activity as a factual event. This means that it should allow anyone, without the necessity of prior permission, to undertake the desired economic activity as long as it is permitted by law. All that would be necessary would be a post-facto notification about the undertaking. This would be a complete about face on the current situation!

[Question] Will this bill alone be sufficient? What about financial law, and taxes?

[Answer] Of course we have this under consideration. We are fully aware that we need parallel restructuring in financial law, which should be clear and stable. Economic initiatives lose force when there is a perceived lack of permanence and stability in the financial legislative solutions. Because of this, the council has started analytical work whose effect is to be a proposal for the unification, or the codification of the tax laws.

[Question] Will the law cease to become a sort of crutch under the market, where owing to the nonfunctioning market mechanisms, the desired results not forthcoming from the economic system are forced out by administrative means?

[Answer] First of all this market has to be created. We, through activities in our field are trying to remove the barriers which block its creation. I think that the reforms in the law will proceed on a parallel course with the development of the general concept of economic reform and of course will precede practical activities. This should, in principle, allow a departure from the use of regulations as a "crutch" and at the same time increase their effectiveness in a natural way.

[Question] Then is there a chance that as a consequence we will have the realization of the phrase "what is not disallowed by law is allowed"?

[Answer] I think so. In the area of economic legislation this assumption has been the unquestioned delimiter for activity since the start of work on the legal model for the reform. This means more economic freedom with fewer legal acts. But its full realization in the legal-economic sphere will demand a precise formulation of the principles for contracts in the civil code, and the addition of an

appropriate entry in the constitutional bill concerning the protection of free economic activity. These would then be a form of systematic guarantees against a return to the old command-distribution model for steering the national economy in which functioned a principle totally opposite to the one postulated today: only that is allowed what is expressly permitted by the regulations.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12411

**Press Council Session Notes Less 'Control,' Stresses Readers' Letters**  
26000231a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
5 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Letters to the Editor, and Intervention Activities"]

[Text] The expansion of contacts between the press, radio, television and the readers, listeners, viewers is one of the important ways in which the journalist can serve society and the state, and this is beneficial toward the democratization of societal relationships in the nation. This was the theme stressed at the 4 Feb meetings taking place at the inauguration of the Press Council.

Letters to the editor written by citizens, comments, conclusions, statements and the interventions initiated by journalists on these matters, it was demonstrated, are among the most popular and meaningful forms for establishing ties to society and are among the guarantees for realizing the constitutional principle of freedom of speech. They are an important means for passing on the citizen's critique.

The largest group of letters received by editors, said the council members, are those in which the readers, listeners, or viewers ask for advice, assistance, or intervention. The press often becomes the proverbial object of last resort. In their letters and conversations the citizens express their opinions concerning the problems of daily life, and about important events in the life of the nation. They propose various activities, they point out those things that bother them, and that which they do not agree with. These ties between society and the press are proof of the trust that the citizens have for the mass media. The believability of the press and journalists is often based on how a citizen's request for intervention is treated, how the matter described in his letter is resolved, how the citizen is treated in his dealings with the editor's office.

In the discussion members of the council indicated that letters to the editor are the source of much information about society's feelings, while their publication strengthens the authenticity of the mass media. It was stressed that the goal should be a fuller exposure of the various forms of contact between the press and the citizen, and of the results obtained by the editors and journalists in

their activities on behalf of the citizens. The help given to those persons who have turned to the press, radio, and television in good faith on matters that may be personal or public, should be linked to a rigorous observance of the press laws by the editorial offices and the subjects of the activities initiated by those offices in response to the citizens' signals. Another weighty matter is the strict observance of the journalist's right to confidentiality which is a public good and has specific applications in the work of the editorial communications staff with readers, listeners, and viewers. Members of the council were in favor of a greater use of citizens' letters and messages to the editorial office so that through their "exposure" ways may be found to eliminate the sources of many injustices and evil in society.

Vice-Premier Jozef Koziol, who took part in the discussions, concluded that the Press Council's taking up of this subject is most important and timely, and underlines the quickly growing broadly based social opinion which is expressed in letters, comments and statements made by readers of the press, and the listeners and viewers of radio and television.

The council accepted a position on the matter of information policy and control of the press, an item that has been discussed at one of last year's meetings. During the last few years, it has been concluded that among other things progress has been made in informing society while government policy in this field has become part of socialist renewal and democratization of societal life. In the mass communication media much has been done to speed the flow of information, improve its quality, and differentiate its form. The council came out specifically for the courageous presentation in the press of various court decisions and positions. This is favorable to broadening the knowledge of society, the development of citizens' awareness, the broadening of societal dialogue, and socialist plurality.

The Press Council positively assessed the reduction in interference by the control organs, over the last few years, in press publication. This is connected, it was stressed, mainly to the progress of normalization of the socio-political situation in the nation and the lessening in the threat to goods protected by the law concerning the control of exhibitions and publications.

The members of the council familiarized themselves with information presented by the leader of the SD [Journalists' Association] PRL Editor Artur Howzan concerning the tasks facing the organization after the 2nd SD PRL Congress.

Jerzy Urban, the Government Press Spokesman, participated in the discussions, which were presided over by council leader Jozef Krolkowski.

12411

**Cultural Importance of Local Press Over National Press Argued**

26000206b Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish  
No 2, Feb 88 pp 54, 55

[Article by Eugeniusz Kurzawa: "Notes From the Provinces—Decentralization in the Press"]

[Text] Some time ago, I had an instructive conversation with an RSW [Worker's Cooperative Publishing House] publisher about regional journalism. Since the "sounded" closing of the creative work of the weekly RADAR, scores of various others including regional papers now face the same fate. Can they defend themselves? If the decisions are arbitrary and centralized, they certainly cannot. However, if we look at various aspects of the problem...

My conversation partner in Kielce said it is necessary to close the "second network" type of newspapers like Kielce's own PRZEMIANY. Of course, this exemplification would also include NADODRA, WARMIA I MAZURY and KAMENA or OPOLE since all of these titles are in a similar situation.

"Why?" I asked him. "After all, if we use those criteria, then there are worse and less useful papers."

His answer was: "They do not turn a profit."

"Perhaps," I said, "but we cannot base everything on profits. After all, the socialist state has taken upon itself the responsibility for cultural patronage. We cannot liquidate forums for regional writers in Kielce, Zielona Gora, Opole, etc."

"Nothing will be lost," he said. "The weekend edition of the Kielce daily paper has a large cultural supplement which reaches some 200,000 readers as opposed to the 5000 or 10,000 of the smaller papers. Is that not better for culture and is it not real socialist patronage to make cultural achievements available to the masses?"

"Unfortunately," I answered, "I cannot really agree with that. This not only fails to bring culture to the masses but it also harms culture and artists. Why?"

First of all, it fails to consider tradition. All of the regional papers already have a tradition. Shutting down a periodical breaks that tradition in a brutal manner. How many times have we already made that mistake? We cannot make the same mistake again. The social fabric is too delicate to be torn every few years.

Second, the shutting down of the Zielona Gora or Kielce newspapers automatically deprives those communities of 100 percent of their social and cultural journalism. If one such paper is closed down in Warsaw, it might go unnoticed but why further impoverish a province where there are already so few places for artistic expression and discussion of public issues?

Third, mass publication in a large newspaper of poetry, short stories and reviews of small and even elite events tends to discourage the "broad masses" from taking interest in this culture and in the paper's cultural supplement. It hurts artists and writers more than it seems. Suddenly, the uneducated reader who normally spends Sundays in front of the television, playing crossword puzzles or reading the sports news is confronted with something unfamiliar and hard to decipher (which is just how such a person sees modern poetry). What that does is turn him against it for good.

However, there is a solution and that is that the patron takes certain unerring steps.

Let us not delude ourselves. These "second network" papers, like many others in Poland, are not really profitable. RSW still makes money in many other areas. There is good reason for the well-known journalist's joke about the RSW being called "Books, Press and Condoms." But these "other areas" do indeed subsidize unprofitable papers.

Let us, therefore, publish the regional papers in a much smaller circulation than before. Instead of printing 10,000 copies, we should print no more than 1000-2000 or 4000 at the most. That is enough! However, we will do this with the understanding that these are not supposed to be profitable mass publications. Let them be elite publications because they too are necessary. They will be a forum for the values of the communities in Kielce, Zielona Gora, Poznan and Wroclaw as papers like NURTY and ODRA have attempted to be. Such papers will speak exclusively of values and that is where 'concrete' poets will experiment. In these papers, experts will review local performances by world-famous ballet troupes or chamber orchestras and the work of the most-avantgarde graphic artists will be published.

Meanwhile, the values that get through to the people and become socially accepted and understood can and should later be championed and popularized on a massive scale in the pages of afternoon papers and dailies and in national and foreign weeklies.

That is all to be said on the matter. The newsprint saved (with a smaller circulation obviously saving much of that commodity) can be turned over to PRZYJACIOLKA or POLITYKA because those publications have a much greater circle of readers. The lowered circulation would also reduce RSW's losses. Is that not a simple solution? It turns out, however, that things are not all that simple since the plans to liquidate these papers have not been changed. Therefore, in the second stage of reform in a period of decentralization, we are seeing an attempt to slim down the "achievement" of the provinces. Is that how decentralization of the press is supposed to look?

**Former Minister Critical of State Subsidies,  
Social Expectations**  
26000254a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
5-6 Mar 88 p 4

[Interview with Professor Antoni Rajkiewicz, professor of social policy, former Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs, by Wanda Zagawa]

[Text] Social policy, its ideas and methods of implementation are becoming the subject of increasingly more animated controversy and exchange of opinion. Not only theorists are speaking out on this subject but many of us, citizens, are trying to contend with theory and everyday life in practice.

[Question] Nearly 100 years ago in 1897, Ludwik Krzywicki wrote in his dissertation entitled "Man and Society": "Theorists work on their theories in the quiet of their studies whereas their work often depends on the arranging of an ostentatious "synthesis" of social development, i.e., simply compilations from several different doctrines. (...) There is a proliferation of such theoreticians in social science, of a greater or lesser caliber. No wonder then that under such conditions, some have forgotten about the diversity of human nature which makes up the social community." And today? How do you see social policy?

[Answer] Social policy—that is a broad concept. There are many ways of looking at it and many definitions of what it is or rather of what it should be. The one that is the closest to my views is the one that states that this [social policy] is the shaping of working and living conditions as well as human interrelationships in such a way as to serve the fulfillment of human needs and in a country that is building socialism it corresponds to the socialist value system.

**System of Basic Values**

Of course, I am simplifying things. I am not delving, for example, into how the ratio between the fulfillment of individual needs and the possibilities of fulfilling the interests of society in general should be distributed. It seems more important to me to recall at this point the basic values which should be the guidelines for socialist social policy. These are: job security, equal opportunity, justice, social security, participation in decisions concerning distribution and choices, the family as a fundamental social unit, the assurance of accessibility to goods and services which serve the fulfillment of basic needs.

[Question] We are talking about an ideal model of social policy. Professor, how would you describe the direction in which social policy in our country is headed toward the end of the 1980's?

[Answer] I believe that the need for a new definition of the role and place of the state in social policy is becoming more and more evident. The time is approaching for it to

become socialized. This socialization—perhaps this is not the best word—is necessary not only because of the processes of change that are awaiting us but also because of the indispensability of modifications in state social policy. If we are to reach for ideal models then for me it is the protective community of state and society.

Returning to the canon of the seven values—job security is no longer sufficient. A stronger incentive and the requirement of better work results is indispensable.

Among the assumptions of the second phase of the economic reform is the creation of preferential treatment for those who obtain the best work results. Meanwhile, 1 trillion 610 billion zloty has been planned in the state budget for surcharges on products and services for the public and this equals 26 percent of the projected expenditures for wages. It is not easy, therefore, to talk about tying in wages with work results. And furthermore, the sum that I have mentioned, which is to constitute a surcharge on the cost of goods and services, is equal to all projected expenditures for health protection, education, the system of higher education and culture.

I consider the maintaining or even increasing of state subsidies on the cost of goods and services for the public as well as in other areas of the economy as the greatest weakness of the reforms thus far.

**Such Was the Necessity**

[Question] You disapprove of subsidies on the cost of goods and services for the public. This is fine in an ideal model! But, after all, today many of us do not have it easy; it is difficult for many of us to make ends meet.

[Answer] It follows from GUS [Central Office of Statistics] research that every fifth household in Poland received outside assistance: approximately 17 percent receive social assistance and assistance from their place of employment, approximately 15 percent of this group of households receives assistance from abroad, and approximately 13 percent from the church. It follows from other studies that approximately 1 million Polish households live comfortably and even prosperously.

And I wish to precede any protests here—not only those who work for the nonsocialized sector of the economy have a high income. There are also those in this group who run specialized farms and those who make a living by working for the socialized sector of the economy. On the other hand, however, there are approximately 1 million households that live on the borderline of the social minimum and another 5 million or so households just manage to "make ends meet."

[Question] And not too long ago, we were wondering whether perhaps we are not an overly protective state by arguing that we, the state, cannot afford expenditures for social benefits and services which are growing at such a fast rate.

[Answer] Both the political and economic situation in the country in recent years have had an impact on the considerable development of the state's protective functions. Let us recall the enormous wave of strikes in 1980 and 1981 and the resulting considerable reduction of work time without the prior preparation of conditions for increased work productivity and the forced introduction of wage increases and privileges for various work groups. In my opinion— inflationary enforcement. And later—from 1982, economic sanctions imposed by the United States and some Western countries. This led to the significant reduction in the national income and a drop in the standard of living of the country's population. The biological existence of a part of society was threatened.

In such a situation, the government was forced to introduce the regulation of certain products which under conditions of a faltering economy meant the development of the subsidy system. Please remember that at the end of 1982, as many as 20 products were sold on the basis of "ration cards." It was also necessary to oversubsidize consumption. Prompted by social needs, the government did not at that time limit service benefits. The decline in work discipline was also treated liberally at that time.

However, the decision was made then to concurrently introduce the economic reform and—this should also be recalled—its goal is to replace the centralized administrative system of managing the economy with mechanisms that would prompt enterprises to assume production independently as well as increase efficiency and stimulate productivity.

#### Joint Responsibility

[Interviewer] I agree with this reminder, although, we do not like to recall glaring truths. However, we have entered 1988, another year of "boring into" the reform.

[Answer] And it has turned out that the economic reform is a very complicated and lengthy process. It has also turned out that no one wants to give up easily that which was obtained easily and also that there are not too many of those who have decided to take a decisive stand for new principles of management and so that their own welfare would depend on, above all or actually-only, the results of their own work.

[Question] And what about the trade unions?

[Answer] They are pressuring to maintain their social status quo. I can understand this tenacity because it may be explained with, among other things, Poland's demographic situation—considerable increase in the birthrate and a large number of young families but also—a growing number of retirees. On the other hand, however, the exigencies of economic laws cannot be undermined with postulates and resolutions. They function in an unyielding fashion and if we try to overlook or cheat them then

we later have to pay the entire bill together with interest which at times is usury. Economic laws like the laws of nature will always demand what is due.

[Question] Is it possible to maintain the social status quo? It is not just recently that we have started talking about the shortcomings of the status quo and about the necessity of rebuilding, for example, the system of social services. After all, the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress has clearly obligated the government to put in order the area of social services and benefits; it has ordered the national Polish conference of delegates planned for 1988 to take care of this matter.

[Answer] As I have already indicated at the outset, we are faced with the necessity of beginning the reorientation process in the concept and practice of a guardian state. For me, it is self-evident that the state must continue to fulfill the function of organizer of a system of social security and must also guarantee the real value of these services which constitute the foundation of the existence of various population groups.

The state and its specialized departments—the municipal authorities must be responsible for housing construction development and that of social infrastructure systems. However, the participation of the public in taking care of some of their own social needs, e.g., planning vacation from work, must also increase. For me as a theorist of social policy...

[Question] Experience also because, after all, you were the minister of labor, wages and social affairs during those years of the 1980's....

[Answer] Thus, both theory and practice—it is clear in any case that the implementation of a model of a protective community of state and society must take place. This conviction arises from both the limited economic potential of the state encumbered by the repayment of foreign debts as well as from the, in my opinion, inevitable need for our citizens to be responsible for their own lot.

This is tied to the necessity of being farsighted with regard to inevitable processes, thus, old age or earlier—enlarging one's family but also to chance occurrences. Therefore, if we are to discuss, now, changes in state social policy then, in my opinion, we should discuss to what degree each one of us may count on the state, to what extent on the work or living environment, and to what extent on ourselves.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the discussion.

**Right To Work Examined in Context of Economic Reform**

26000260 Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish  
No 10, 6 Mar 88 pp 4, 7

[Article by Krystyna Loch: "The Right To Work"]

[Text] The labor code amendment has been talked and written about for quite some time. Certain new alternatives have been submitted to so-called public discussion. Opinions on the proposed changes have generally been critical. It will be harder for an employee to leave a job under the so-called agreement between plants. And if he wants to leave normally, he loses a great deal. At the same time, we know that there is overemployment and, elsewhere, a lack of people. It would be logical to make it easier for people to transfer to where they are needed most.

It is often added to this kind of opinion that some unemployment would be good because people do not appreciate their work and change jobs for any reason at all. So what until recently was a clear constitutional right to work, indissolubly linked to socialism and consistent with church doctrine, is beginning to require clarification. Because what does the "right to work" mean? The right to employment? Or is it the right to a job where much is required, but which permits equitable earnings, gives the employee satisfaction and society results?

The right to work for everyone has become one of the fundamental achievements of the socialist system. After years of unemployment, fears of losing jobs, the unpaid work stoppages popularly called fixed periods, everyone could find employment at last. There were many working hands in Poland and they helped significantly both in the postwar rebuilding of the country and in its later development. Unfortunately an abundance of goods rarely goes hand in hand with their rational use. Today one can see clearly that the basic reason for existing problems with efficiency, discipline and respect for work as the official treatment of that right. The right to work actually became the right to employment in a centralized, bureaucratically managed economy. It was decided from above how many people one could employ and how much to pay them. Whoever for whatever reason hired fewer employees than the so-called limit provided for lost out. He had less clout because the biggest were the most important. And the next year his hiring limit was cut and he could not take on more people in the future, even if he needed them. So it is hardly any wonder that employers did everything to keep people, even those who were in fact unnecessary. Under the circumstances, the right to work often became the employer's right to hire an employee for a given position, making it hard for him to leave for another job, especially a better paying one.

In spite of this, people in Poland changed and continue to change jobs rather frequently. In the course of a year, about 20 percent of those employed move from one workplace to another, and in the case of men, almost 30

percent. There are two basic reasons for this. The first is the opportunity to get much better earnings for the same work, but carried out in a different, more valuable field. The second reason is the wage and promotion policy used in the workplace. A candidate for director is most often sought outside the plant rather than among its own employees. It also becomes an unwritten rule to give a newly hired person a higher wage in comparison to the wages of long term employees. The official treatment of the right to work, "keeping" employees regardless of needs or usefulness and the less than high regard for their abilities and experience has caused work to be one of the least appreciated values.

In times of successive economic crises and difficulties in Poland and other socialist countries, the problem of increasing the effectiveness of work comes back like a boomerang. In connection with this, the question arises, is this possible while maintaining the constitutional right to work for everyone. But it is typical that instead of seeking ways to better use employee abilities under conditions of full employment, relief is sought in unemployment, hence in a solution recognized until recently as unworthy of socialism.

One of those who sees an opportunity in returning to unemployment is Soviet economist M. Szmielow. He says in the columns of NOWYJ MIR that a certain kind of natural unemployment exists in the USSR among those who change jobs frequently. In Szmielow's opinion, these "unemployed" make up 2 to 3 percent of the total number of employees. He also sees as unemployed alcoholics and wasters who are on so-called guaranteed employment, who are of no use at work. I think one could, according to the author's reasoning, see as unemployed those people who do a job beneath their qualifications, or so-called artificial work. One should, therefore, consider in an unbiased and objective way, writes Szmielow, what would be gained from the existence of a relatively small reserve working army, except that one could not leave those unemployed to their own fate. The threat of the possibility of losing one's job, going on welfare temporarily, compelling them to work where, in the author's opinion, referral would be an effective medicine against laziness, alcoholism and lack of responsibility.

The Soviet economist's opinion has many advocates here too. In approaching reform of the economy at the beginning of the 1980s, it was assumed that plants relieved of hiring limits and fully independent would begin to get rid of lazy and unneeded employees. Because unemployment was expected, the well known Career Activation Fund was established and its resources were to serve to make benefit payments to those who had lost their jobs for various reasons and those who would be forced to learn a new trade.

As television informed us, in July of last year there were 447 people unemployed, which includes those who are without work for more than seven days. This constitutes

.004 percent of the total employees. At the same time there are about 300,000 open positions, while deterioration of work efficiency and discipline is visible to the naked eye. So, two conclusions emerge. First, that it is not that easy to return to unemployment in the socialist economy because it must result not from a change of attitude on the issue of administrative orders but from actual changes in the principles of management and in the approach to making use of labor resources. Thus, as long as a plant does not see results ensuing from frugality in hiring, it will not be inclined to discharge those who work poorly. The second conclusion is that socialist unemployment from the top would likely not produce fundamental changes since, as the examples of capitalist countries show, the fact of the existence of unemployment does not itself guarantee the attainment of economic results.

In 1985, Switzerland, Sweden and Japan, countries among the most economically advanced and affluent, had the lowest unemployment. In these countries, unemployment was from 1 to 2.6 percent of the total employed, thus approximately as high as hidden unemployment in the Soviet Union, in Szmielow's opinion. Spain, on the other hand, had the highest unemployment (21.9 percent of those employed) and did not achieve the best economic results, followed by Yugoslavia (13.3 percent), currently undergoing a serious crisis.

A change of attitude and the creation of some unemployment in socialist countries will not be a treatment for overcoming economic difficulties. But it can emerge as a result of introducing real economic reform, which is anticipated in Poland, and for which Hungary is preparing in practice. It is estimated that as a result of a decrease in the production of obsolete products and the elimination of unprofitable plants, 13 percent of the industrial employees could lose their jobs.

The emergence of unemployment creates a qualitatively new situation in socialist countries. First, the constitutional right to work must take on new substance. It will no longer be the right to employment, but to efficient, economically and socially useful work, which is so crucial to everyone now. Second, the governments of socialist states will have to solve the problem of unemployment. One must believe that for reasons of ideology and prestige, it will not be permitted to take on the attributes of a permanent phenomenon requiring the payment of specific benefits to people without work. It would be more appropriate to expect proper management of the resulting surplus labor and attempts to reconcile the interests of the economy with the public interest.

Time will tell if it can be done. For now it is crucial to create mechanisms that would encourage rationalization of employment, better use of qualifications, rewarding those who work well and getting rid of poor employees. It requires introducing universal, broad changes, beginning with improving work organization and the rules for evaluating, promoting and compensating employees in

every workplace, including changes in educating youth, in personnel and wage policy in the entire country. It seems that at this moment the most important thing is to create conditions for rational relocation of employees from areas of artificial, inefficient work to places where there are materials for the manufacture of products that are in demand, opportunities for interesting applications of the results of technological progress, expansion of profitable exports, etc.

These are not easy moves, but they are crucial and should therefore be better served by changes in the labor code.

12776

**Public Opinion Survey Regarding Citizens' Militia**  
*26000254b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*  
*25 Feb 88 p 2*

[Text] In a survey entitled "Current Events, Prospects, Problems" conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research [CBOS] the question was asked, "How would you assess the work of the Citizens' Militia?" A decisively positive answer was given by 7.7 percent of those surveyed, a rather positive answer—by 37.2 percent, and every third respondent (31 percent) did not have a definite opinion on this matter whereas 16.9 percent assessed MO activity rather negatively and 5.1 percent gave a definite "no."

"In your opinion, what do people value in and respect the citizens' militia functionaries for?"

The answer that was given most often was: for providing a sense of security and maintaining public law and order; for protecting our citizens and their property and for rushing with assistance in saving human lives (45 percent such answers); for combatting crime, wrongdoing and social pathology—20 percent of the respondents; for hard, ungrateful work and placing their own life and health in jeopardy—11 percent; and for assistance in taking care of people's matters and problems—6.7 percent. "And what are the things that people do not value in and respect the militia for?" asked the CBOS.

In their answers, the respondents pointed out, above all, the—in their opinion—improper attitude of MO functionaries toward citizens, tactless behavior, the abuse of power and authority, aggressiveness, unfairness, rashness in issuing fines or penalties as well as slow action.

9853/12232

**ROMANIA**

**Overview of 1965-1986 Countrywide Reorganization**

*27000068 Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIA in Romanian No 1, Jan 1988 pp 47-65*

[Article by Vasile Buriga: "The Improvement of the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania, 1965-1986"]

[Text] As Romania entered a new, superior stage in its history—that of the construction and the continuous

consolidation of the socialist order—an administrative and territorial reorganization became an objective necessity. It was required to ensure the necessary framework for building a new society, this being a particularly important aspect of the process of perfecting the management of economic and socio-cultural life and public administration. In complete harmony with the deep and wide-ranging revolutionary changes which have taken place in our country during the years of socialism, the economic and administrative organization of the countryside has undergone continuous improvement. This has ensured that this administration corresponds to these qualitative changes and that there be the necessary framework to ensure the general and harmonious progress of all the country's zones and localities. Other activities have been closely linked to the evolution of the administrative and territorial organization—the process of the organization and operation of the people's councils and their executive bodies and the systematization of the territories and the urban and rural localities.

The profound changes that have taken place in Romanian society in the approximately 20 years of building and consolidating a socialist order in the new and revolutionary directions laid down by the historic Romanian Communist Party Ninth Congress in July 1965, necessitated a legal structure to ensure the continued powerful and balanced development of Romanian socialist society, and a territorial and administrative reorganization. Such were the demands of that congress—improvements in the management and planning of the national economy and of all society. It was a congress which marked the beginning of a new, qualitatively superior era in the millennia of our fatherland, where socialism triumphed fully and completely in the city and in the countryside. This was a reality that was legally consecrated by the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 21 August 1965, the same date as the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The necessary territorial and administrative reorganization was developed and applied through the initiative and with the decisive contributions of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—the leader of the Romanian Communist Party and of our socialist state. The principles and practical directions of the new administrative structure of our country's territories were first set out in the RCP Central Committee plenary session of 5-6 October 1967 and further developed in the RCP National Conference of 6-8 December 1967—the calling of the latter and the setting of its agenda having been accomplished in the former.

On the agenda of the 5-6 October 1967 RCP Central Committee plenary session were matters of particular importance for ensuring the consolidation of the socialist order in our country. These included among other items the following:

1. Improving the management and planning of the national economy in concert with the new stage of socialist development in Romania;

2. Improving the administrative and territorial organization of Romania and the systematization of rural localities. (Footnote 1)

At the close of its work, this plenum adopted the document entitled, "Basic Principles for Improving the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania and for the Systematization of Rural Localities." (Footnote 2) The plenum decided that the draft of this important document be subject to wide-scale public comment and then to be debated and approved at the RCP National Conference set for 6 December 1967. The conference was to have the following agenda: "Directives for Perfecting the Leadership and Planning of the National Economy of Romania and the Systematization of Rural Localities." (Footnote 3)

The document entitled: "Basic Principles for Improving the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania and for the Systematization of Rural Localities," adopted by the 5-6 October 1967 RCP Central Committee plenum, specifies in its three chapters the need for a country-wide territorial administrative reorganization, the forms of this reorganization, the leadership bodies of the new territorial units (in Chapter I, entitled: "Improving the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania"), matters regarding the systematization of rural localities (Chapter II), and activities to improve the administration and the systematization of rural localities. (Footnote 4) Regarding the objective need for the administrative and territorial reorganization and for rural systematization, this important party document states: "Increasing the efficiency of all economic activity, the better use of natural resources and the work force, the need for better distribution of production forces, and meeting the challenges of constructing socialism all demand the improvement of the current administrative and territorial organization of Romania. At the same time, the need for balanced development of all localities and for the phased equalization of living conditions in the villages with those in urban areas demands measures for standardizing rural localities.

Based on an all-encompassing analysis of natural, economic, demographic, social and technical factors, these two major activities represent integral parts of the general RCP policy of continually moving our society forward at ever higher levels of progress and civilization. They are among the objectives set down by the RCP Ninth Party Congress, and they are organically bound to measures designed to improve the management and planning of the national economy.

This document goes on to point out that the administrative and territorial divisions that existed at the time, established years before, no longer corresponded to the new stage of socialist development in Romania. It stressed the need to remove the intermediate links—the region and the district—that were positioned between the central organizations and the basic administrative

and territorial units—the commune and the city—where party and state directives take on life. These intermediate links, the document stresses, created parallelisms and overlapping jurisdictions; they impaired effective management of activities and led to an exaggerated and unjustified administrative apparatus as well. It was clear that in the years of socialist construction, many of the cities had developed into powerful industrial, commercial and cultural centers, with large populations and that they exerted profound influence over surrounding localities. Many of these cities had been traditional administrative centers in the past, hence leaving them subordinate now to regional centers set in other localities meant that they were not allowed proper development when compared with the seats of regional administrative power which were allocated more materials and funds. Furthermore, 32 regional centers—a fifth of the total—were located in rural communes and exercised reduced influence on the other localities in the region. There were serious shortcomings in the way in which industry was dispersed and in the level of control that communes and certain cities had in managing activities; regional centers took over that control and were unable to use it effectively. Development of rural life was made difficult by the fact that many of the 4259 communities were small administrative units, having on the average less than 3000 inhabitants, without the economic force necessary to undertake larger social-cultural and municipal-administrative construction. Hence the central communities were not as able to attract elements from their component villages. The rural population was scattered in 14,203 villages (a number which did not take into account rural localities administratively subordinate to various cities). Of all rural localities, 72.7 percent had less than 1000 inhabitants, and 44 percent had populations under 500. There were 989 villages with less than 100 inhabitants.

This situation shows why it was necessary to improve the administrative and territorial organization of the country in light of the demands imposed by the new stage of socialist development in Romania.

The following principles were guidelines for the new administrative organization of the country: 1. Closer ties between the central government and the basic territorial and administrative entities. This was the reason for the creation of the county (*judet*) as "the territorial and administrative organ which directly assists in the implementation of RCP Central Committee and Council of Ministers policies;" 2. The establishment of administrative and territorial units which could competently and expeditiously resolve questions with the aim of vigorous and balanced economic, social-cultural and administrative development for all localities and to have at their disposal the most direct means of communication with the administrative centers; the basic units of this new administrative division of the territories being the city and the commune each with greater authority in all areas of activity; 3. Strengthening the communes as powerful administrative units capable of ensuring the proper use

of local material and human resources through the development of various industrial, agricultural, handicraft and social-cultural activities, and of gradually raising the quality of life in the villages so that it approached that of the cities; 4. The dismantling of the intermediate administrative links—the region and the district—which had become impediments to the general development of localities and to the management of economic, political and social-cultural life.

In the practical steps to bring into operation the new territorial and administrative organization, attention was given to both the positive and negative aspects manifested in the activity of the people's councils and their executive organs, to the traditions in our country in this domain and to contemporary trends on the world scene. This party document indicated that it began with existing economic, socio-political, geographic, demographic and cultural conditions; then it defined the new territorial and administrative units—the county, the city and the commune—definitions which would be taken up and developed in the new law concerning the administrative and territorial organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania. It stated that at the forefront of the new administrative and territorial units would be county people's councils, and the people's councils of the municipalities, cities and towns. They would be headed by chairmen who, at the same time, would be the leaders of the respective administrative units. The people's councils which would replace the people's deliberative bodies (*sfaturi populare*)—which until the 1968 administrative reorganization of the country were the local democratic organs of power and socialist state administration in Romania—and were to have greatly increased local authority. Their activities were to be based on the strict application of democratic centralism, of collective work and leadership, of increased personal responsibility for every deputy of a people's council to fulfill the mission entrusted him, and of the wide scale and permanent mutual efforts of all the citizens to resolve the questions of local and general interest. The document established that the secretary of the communal people's council was a state functionary, with appropriate formal training and it noted the need to establish a school of higher education in administration which would prepare the cadre necessary for local administration.

The 5-6 October 1967 RCP Central Committee plenary session, in the document noted above, also established organizational measures for carrying out activities to improve administrative organization and to standardize rural localities. It specified that the direction and coordination of these efforts be carried out by a party and state central commission, and in each region, by a local commission. The central commission had the following primary tasks: 1. To execute studies and formulate concrete proposals for the new administrative and territorial division of the country as well as to analyze modifications which would have to be made in managing the local economy, in the state apparatus and in the reassignment of institutions of learning, public health

and so on; 2. To draft new laws for the organization and operation of the people's councils as well as all other normative acts relating to the new administrative organization of the country. Specific proposals for the boundaries of the future counties, cities and towns and maps showing these boundaries which were to be put up for public discussion before being presented for approval by the party and state leadership had to be ready at the beginning of 1968; 3. To develop the criteria, studies and research for the legislation and normative acts regarding the systematization of rural localities.

This method of operation demonstrates the democratic character of the entire activity to reorganize the administrative and territorial structure of the country and to standardize rural localities.

Matters concerning the administrative and territorial reorganization of the country were debated at length and approved by the RCP National Conference of 6-8 December 1967, based on orientations in the report presented by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general on 6 December 1967 at the opening of this conference. The report was entitled, "Regarding Measures to Perfect the Management and Planning of the National Economy and to Improve the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania." (Footnote 5) Matters concerning the administrative reorganization of the territory and the systematization of rural localities are analyzed in depth in Chapter V of this report entitled, "Improving Administrative and Territorial Organization and the Systematization of the Rural Localities," in which the basic principles of the new administrative and territorial organization of Romania and the systematization of rural localities were reiterated and expanded (Footnote 6). These were the principles adopted at the 5-6 October 1967 Central Committee plenum and they underscore the fact that, "These principles and measures stem from the necessity to bring the territorial and administrative organization of the country in line with the qualitative changes that have taken place in the development of the forces of production and in their geographical distribution, in the development of society, with the modifications produced in the population structure and in the character, dimensions and conditions of life in the cities, towns and villages across the entire country." Hence, in these new conditions, the then current administrative and territorial organization which was adopted in 1950 in totally different economic and social conditions no longer corresponded to the demands of the march firmly forward on the road to socialism and communism by Romanian society.

The new administrative and economic organization of the country also brought to a higher level the activities of the new organizations of local state authority and administration—the now-named people's councils. Secretary General Ceausescu's report thus addressed the formulation and application of new laws regarding the organization and functioning of the people's councils "which will

define the powers and responsibilities of all the local organizations involved, and will simplify the administrative apparatus and make it more orderly."

"The county, city and communal people's councils will enjoy greater autonomy in carrying out all of their activities and in organizing and coordinating local economic and socio-cultural life."

As an expression of the just and consistent national policy followed by the party and our socialist state, in his report presented to the RCP National Conference of 6-8 December 1967, the secretary general of our communist party, Nicolae Ceausescu, directed the local organizations that were to be elected in the new territorial and administrative organization to ensure in those localities where Romanian citizens of other nationalities live alongside ethnic Romanians, the strict application of the country's laws regarding the use of the native language of these nationalities in the state administration and in schools and cultural institutions. These laws ensured full equality in rights and responsibilities, the development of fraternal ties between Romanian workers and those of other nationalities and the free affirmation of the personal worth and aptitude of all citizens regardless of nationality, in support of the flowering of our common fatherland—socialist Romania. This new administrative and territorial organization, the report noted, ensured all the political and material conditions necessary for improving the quality of life for all inhabitants of the country. At the same time, the territorial and administrative reorganization created a more favorable framework for an equitable distribution in the country of production forces and of economic enterprises to allow the powerful and balanced development of all zones and localities. The application of the December 1967 RCP National Conference decisions created new conditions for greater participation by the citizenry in the management and solution of state, social and public questions thereby deepening and amplifying socialist workers' revolutionary democracy in Romania.

The 6-8 December 1967 RCP National Conference Resolution stated the following in connection with the new administrative and territorial division of the country and with the systematization of the rural localities: "The Conference approves the principles of perfecting the administrative and territorial organization of Romania and the systematization of rural localities. It recognizes this reorganization as the basis for ensuring the enhanced role and authority of the cities and towns—the basic units wherein all the economic, political and socio-cultural activities of the citizens will take place. The counties will be established and they will increase the efficiency of local organs, stimulate their initiative and more closely link the central organs with those of local state administration. This will create a favorable framework for a fair allocation of production forces throughout the country and for the balanced economic and socio-cultural development of all areas. It will speed the process of bringing modern civilization to rural areas

and accelerate the advancement of the quality of life in the villages to the level of that in the cities—one of the principle conditions in building a communist society.” (Footnote 7)

Giving practical, juridical expression to the 6-8 December 1967 RCP National Conference directives concerning the improvement of the administrative and territorial organization of the country as well as to the decisions on this same topic by the 5-6 October 1967 RCP Central Committee Plenum, the Grand National Assembly debated these issues on 15 and 16 February 1968 and approved three important normative acts in the 16 February 1968 ninth special session of this supreme state organization's Fifth Legislature. The three acts were: 1. Law No 1 Concerning Modifications of Articles in the Socialist Republic of Romania's Constitution (Footnote 8) 2. Law No 2 Concerning the Administrative Organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania (Footnote 9) 3. Law No 3 Concerning Local State Management in Administrative and Territorial Units Prior to the Elections of the People's Councils (Footnote 10).

Recognizing the close connection between the three draft laws, the Grand National Assembly, at the recommendation of its bureau, decided to hold a single general discussion on the issues.

In the 15 February 1968 morning session of the Grand National Assembly, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP and the Chairman of the Party and State Central Commission, presented a detailed explanation concerning the improvement of the administrative organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania (Footnote 11). He went over in great detail the general principles and the concrete data of the country's new administrative and territorial structure; he stressed above all the objective and legal necessity of adopting these important measures which were integral parts of a package of steps for perfecting economic and social life. “This is an action of exceptional importance,” he stated, “which will exercise a positive influence on the multilateral development of our fatherland and on the well being and happiness of the entire nation.”

“Life demonstrates that the general progress of society is inseparably linked to a judicious organization of the country and to a local administration which favors the rational dispersal of production forces throughout the country and the balanced development of various zones and localities. The improvement of the territorial and administrative structure is an important factor in achieving a superior level in the organizational and political operation of the socialist state. It offers a favorable framework for the economic and socio-cultural progress of the country; it creates conditions for the full use of local resources and initiative, and for the participation of the masses in the direction of state activities. In this way, socialist democracy, a characteristic of our social structure, will undergo new development. The measures which we are putting forth for Grand National

Assembly consideration have arisen from the need to harmonize our administrative and territorial organization with the qualitative changes that have taken place in the evolution of production forces and in their geographical dispersal, with improvements in production relationships, with modifications that have taken place within the population structure, and with changes in the structure, dimensions and conditions of life in the cities and towns all across Romania. The victory of socialism in the cities and villages, the continuing progress of industry, agriculture, transportation and commerce have brought different localities and areas into the economic activity of the country, have deepened the ties among them, and have strengthened their active involvement in the unitary complex of the national economy.”

In his speech, he made positive note—in the spirits of dialectics, of the administrative and territorial divisions that existed to date. “These played a positive role in carrying out the specific tasks of socialist construction and in mobilizing the masses to achieve party policies. However, due to the profound changes that have taken place in the approximately two decades since they were established, they no longer fully correspond to the new stage of development.” This required a new administrative organization of the country. Continuing in his speech, he noted that based on suggestions put forth by the citizenry, they were proposing 39 counties instead of the 35 which had been initially proposed; the four new counties being Braila, Covasna, Mehedinți and Salaj. He noted that in setting the boundaries of the new territorial and administrative units, a single set of flexible, scientifically-based criteria were employed. These were: local historical traditions, geographical conditions, the level of economic development, relationships established in the years of socialist construction, development projections, communication networks, and ensuring the necessary conditions for developing rich cultural and social activities, such that each county would have its own press. In light of the RCP National Conference Directives, he then pointed out the great responsibility which was being given to the new local organs of state power—to the people's councils—at all levels. The secretary general of the RCP, Nicolae Ceausescu, went on in his presentation to elaborate the proposals for the new administrative division of the country. He stressed that these were the result of ample and prolonged study with the active and direct participation of the local party and state organizations and with that of a large number of scientists and specialists—geographers, economists, sociologists, historians and ethnologists. These proposals whose implementation would involve all society and the lives of all citizens, had been subjected to wide scale debate in the press and in letters addressed to the party and state leadership by numerous working people.

In order to fully appreciate the wishes of citizens in localities where major modifications had been proposed, there were ample public meetings held in these areas. As a result of these consultations, it was decided to establish the four additional counties. In setting the counties'

boundaries, attention was given to a series of proposals concerning changing the administrative subordination of over 100 towns because of their traditional ties and communication channels to various county seats. Numerous suggestions were considered which came from inhabitants of the former Crisana region concerning changing the originally proposed new name of Crisana county to Bihor county. In his speech, he stated: "The new administrative map of the country corresponds to all of the general interests of society and the citizenry. The manner in which the county boundaries were drawn is one of the most eloquent expressions of socialist democracy's development and of the effective and direct participation of the masses in the forging of our country's destiny. We can affirm authoritatively that this country-wide administrative and territorial organization is the work of all the people." He also presented data and figures to show that the newly-established counties were complex territorial units from an economic and socio-cultural point of view, balanced in area and economic potential and capable of ensuring the maximum use of material and human resources throughout the country, in order to achieve a new quality of work and life for all inhabitants regardless of their nationality.

In the afternoon of 15 February 1968, the Grand National Assembly began general debate of the draft laws regarding modification of certain articles in the Romanian constitution, the administrative organization of the country, and steps to ensure local administration by the state in the new territorial and administrative units until the elections of the people's councils (Footnote 12). The debates continued on 16 February when the three draft laws were voted upon in secret ballot and approved unanimously (Footnote 13). With law No 1 of 16 February on modifications to the Romanian constitution (Footnote 14), adopted in conformity with the December 1967 RCP National Conference Directives, modifications were made in provisions concerning the administrative organization of the country, the organization and operations of central organs of state administration, the organization and operations of local organs of state power and administration as well as changes to the names of various state organs connected with the new administrative and territorial units. Hence, there were modifications to Article 15 which stipulated that the country is organized into the following categories of territory and administration—the county, city and commune; that the most important cities can be organized as municipalities, and that the Bucharest municipality—the country's capital—has an administrative organization of enumerated sectors; that as a result there were changes in the names of local organs of state power, the people's deliberative body (sfat) became the people's council and that this new name must be used in the text of the constitution and in all normative acts; there were changes made to references to various legal offices and to the prosecutor's office—organizations now in the new administrative and territorial units. The powers of the

various people's councils were specified, and the duration of the mandate of all people's councils was set at 4 years—including those communal people's councils which had been set at 2 years.

Based on the decisions of the December 1967 RCP National Conference and in conformity with the new provisions of the country's constitution, the Grand National Assembly on 16 February 1968, after approving the law concerning modifications to the constitution, approved Law No 2, "Regarding the Administrative Organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania" (Footnote 15). This law was accompanied by an Explanation of Motives, and was comprised of two chapters and 10 articles (pp 132-134) as well as a document annex entitled, "The Administrative Division of the Socialist Republic of Romania" (pp 137-182) which gave detailed information on the composition of the counties, municipalities, cities and towns. Chapter I of the law provided general rules of the administrative organization of the country into counties, cities and towns (article 1) and article 2 established that the Bucharest municipality was the capital of Romania. Articles 3-7 list the definitive elements of each administrative and territorial unit. It stipulated that the county was a complex administrative and territorial unit comprised of cities and towns—the basic units of state administration in the country. It stated that as a function of the geographical, economic, and socio-political conditions as well as the traditional ties of the population, establishing counties ensured the balanced development of the cities and towns (article 3). It also stipulated that the Bucharest municipality would be divided into numerated sectors (article 8).

The city is defined in the law's article 4 as a population center more developed from an economic, socio-cultural and administrative, having a number of contacts with surrounding regions over which it exerts a powerful influence. The more important cities, with greater populations and having particular importance in the economic, political, social and scientific-cultural life of the country or with the potential to develop in this direction can be organized as municipalities. The cities in which the country leadership bodies are located are the county seats. The Bucharest municipality, other municipalities and important cities can have attached to them as distinct units, other nearby cities and communes which are called suburban communes (article 6). According to article 5, the commune is defined as a basic administrative and territorial which has a rural population bonded together through a community of interests and being comprised of one or more villages as a function of certain economic, socio-cultural, geographic and demographic conditions. The establishment of the commune ensures economic, socio-cultural and administrative development of rural localities. Article 7 of the law provides for the establishment of certain special categories of administrative and territorial units—namely balneal and climatic stations composed of those cities or communes which by virtue of climatic or hydrologic conditions or locations have particular significance for public health or recreation.

Chapter II of the law is comprised of regulations concerning the administrative organization of the Bucharest municipality into numbered sectors (eight sectors as described in the annex) as well as the naming of the 39 counties and county seats (Footnote 16), and the other 45 cities organized as municipalities in addition to Bucharest, making a total of 46 (Footnote 17).

The new administrative and territorial organization was finalized, as far as defining municipalities, cities and communes, at the close of 1968 when Law No 55 of 19 December 1968 was adopted modifying Law No 2 of 16 February 1968, the law concerning the administrative organization of Romania. This law established the administrative and territorial administrative units, named their composition—the municipalities and county seats as well as the communal seats—as specified in the law's annex (articled 9 as amended). To this end, Law No 55 of 19 December 1968 modified article 9 and abolished article 1—which specified the municipalities in Law No 2/1968, and caused the law as modified to be republished (Footnote 18). The document which accompanied Law No 2/1968 concerning the administrative organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania along with the modifications imposed by Law No 55 of 19 December 1968, had the following chapters: I. Statistical Profile of the Administrative Division of the Socialist Republic of Romania in which are listed both overall and by county, the number of municipalities, cities, component localities of municipalities and cities, the communes including those that are suburban communes, and the number of villages including data on those belonging to municipalities and cities. The Statistical Profile (Footnote 19), as well as the Explanation of Reasons for Law No 55 of 19 December 1968, the following nationwide administrative and territorial structure is given: 39 counties, 47 municipalities, 189 cities, 604 component localities of municipalities and cities, 2706 communes of which 145 were listed as suburban communes, and 13149 villages, of which 232 were attached to municipalities and cities; II. The Counties; III. The Municipalities; IV. The Cities; V. Localities Which Have Recently Been Formed As Cities; VI. Villages Included as Component Elements of Municipalities and Cities; VII. Component Localities of Municipalities and Cities Which Have Been Merged with Other Localities; VIII. Component Localities of Municipalities and Cities Which Have Achieved the Status of Villages; IX. Newly-Established Villages; X. Villages Which Have Been Dissolved as the Result of Merging With Other Villages; XI. Localities Whose Names Have Been Changed. The modified annex of Law No 2/1968 further stipulates that the Bucharest municipality is administratively organized into 8 numbered sectors, 12 suburban communities and 23 component villages and it lists the territorial boundaries of each (Footnote 20). The annex then describes the composition of each county according to the Statistical Profile noted earlier (Footnote 21).

In an action directly connected to the country's new administrative organization, the Grand National Assembly in its 16 February 1968 session, adopted Law No 3,

"Concerning Measures to Ensure Local State Administration in the Administrative and Territorial Units Until the Elections of the People's Councils" (Footnote 22). This law was accompanied by an Explanation of Reasons and 9 articles. The law noted that to apply the new provisions of the Constitution and of Law No 2/1968, it was necessary to establish provisional norms to ensure local state government until the elections of the people's councils, to prepare city and commune boundaries, to organize the elections of deputies to the new local organs of state power and to adopt other measures of importance to local concerns. Hence, article 1 of Law No 3 of 16 February 1968 established that the activities of the regional and district deliberative bodies ceased with the new law's implementation date. Until the election and installation of the new people's councils, local government in the counties would be exercised by provisional people's councils composed of delegates of former regional and district deliberative bodies who had been elected from electoral precincts within the boundaries of the new counties. The provisional county people's councils would be immediately called into their first organizational session on the new law's implementation date. At that time, they would elect their executive committees from the deputies of the respective people's councils, as well as from the ranks of other citizens named by the government who were not deputies but who were recognized as active in the public and state sectors. The executive committees would be composed of 15-23 members from among whom the provisional county people's council would elect a chairman and a number of vice chairmen. One of the vice chairmen would be the first vice chairman (article 2). The deliberative body of Bucharest and those from city regions around the capital would continue their activity except under the new name of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council or the people's councils of the Bucharest municipality sectors. The manner of selecting the executive committee of the BMPC was the same as for the counties. The BMPC executive committee chairman became the Bucharest Municipality mayor. The sector people's councils executive committees were composed of deputies elected in the respective people's councils as well as of certain people named until the elections by the BMPC from the public who, although they were not deputies, were recognized for valued public service in the state apparatus. The chairmen of the Bucharest municipality sector provisional people's councils became mayors of their respective people's councils (article 3). The city and communal deliberative bodies continued their work under the new name of municipal, city and communal people's councils and their executive committees were composed of deputies as well as citizens, who although not deputies, had performed valuable public service in the state apparatus. This later category was named, until the new elections, by the executive committees of the county provisional people's councils. The chairmen of these committees became the chief executives of their respective administrative and territorial units (articles 4-5).

The executive committees of the country provisional people's councils and of the Bucharest municipality were empowered to make proposals to the Council of Ministers regarding the territorial limits of the municipalities, cities and communes and to take measures for the proper preparation and organization of the new elections for deputies to the Grand National Assembly and to the people's councils which were to be held on 2 March 1969 (article 6).

The Council of Ministers was authorized to transfer to the counties the economic and budget plans of the former regions, to adopt regulations for the naming of provisional people's councils executive committee secretaries, to approve the administrative and territorial limits of municipalities, cities and communes, and to organize elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and to local organs of state administration. With the exception of the Bucharest municipality's plan, the economic and budgetary plans for the municipalities were established as separate sections in the counties' economic and budgetary plans (article 7). By 31 December 1968, the government was obliged by article 9 of this law to draft new laws for the organization and functioning of people's councils.

The administrative and territorial structure of Romania remained unchanged until July 1979 with the exception that effective with the 20 November 1977 elections of deputies to the municipal people's councils, the Bucharest sectoral municipality people's councils and those of the cities and communes, the number of communes was reduced from 2706 to 2705. That figure remains current today (Footnote 23).

Certain modifications to the administrative and territorial organization of the country were made in July 1979, changes effected in Annex to Law No 2/1968 Concerning the Administrative and Territorial Organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Hence, Council of State Decree No 281 of 27 July 1979 Concerning the Organization of County Seats as Municipalities, article 1 named the following cities as municipalities effective 1 July 1979: Alexandria, Bistrita, Miercurea Ciuc, Sfintul Gheorghe, Slatina, Slobozia, Vaslui and Zalau. Until the elections of new municipal people's councils for these localities, their people's councils would be composed of the number of deputies that existed on the date of the decree (Footnote 24). Similarly, State Council Decree No 282 of 27 July 1979 declared that Fagaras would be organized as a municipality effective 1 July 1979 (Footnote 25).

Also in 1979, State Council Decree No 284 of 31 July, "Concerning the Establishment of Bucharest Municipality Sectors," a decree of 5 articles, reduced the number of Bucharest sectors from eight to six. The executive committee apparatus of the disestablished sectors were redistributed according to a new administrative organization of the capital city. The new administrative structure also

required modification of the number of Bucharest electoral precincts. Hence between 55 and 71 electoral precincts for each sector would be required for the new elections (Footnote 26). As a result of this improvement, the country was divided into 39 county, 55 municipal, 180 city and 2705 communal administrative and economic divisions, a fact reflected in the general elections to the Grand National Assembly and people's councils of 9 March 1980 (Footnote 27).

Yet another improvement of the country's territorial and administrative organization occurred in January 1981 when, during the 23 January Romanian Council of State session, chaired by Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the country, proposals were debated and approved on the topic of certain improvements to the administrative and territorial organization of the country. Taking into account the very strong industrial, socio-cultural and administrative development of Ilfov and Ialomita counties and the need to make maximum use of the land in this important agricultural region, as well as the need to ensure a better provisioning of fruits and vegetables to the Bucharest municipality, the State Council approved the following measures: I. Reorganizing the two current counties—Ilfov and Ialomita—and establishing the following two counties: 1. Giurgiu county—with Giurgiu as the county seat; 2. Ialomita county—with the county seat the municipality of Slobozia; 3. Calaras county—with the Calaras municipality as the county seat; II. Establishment of the Ilfov Agricultural sector subordinate to the Bucharest Municipality People's Council. The territorial boundaries of this new administrative sector were presented in a map published with this State Council decree (Footnote 28). This decree was given juridical status in State Council Decree No 15 of 23 January 1981, "Concerning Measures to Improve the Administrative and Territorial Organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania." The decree was accompanied by annexes (Footnote 29). Until the elections of the people's councils for the new territorial and administrative units established in January 1981, provisional people's councils operated that were composed of deputies elected from the precincts within the boundaries of the new three counties. The provisional people's council of the new Ilfov agricultural sector was formed of deputies elected from the electoral precincts of the former Ilfov county and from the precincts of the Bucharest municipality now in the new sector. These people's councils were immediately called into their first session on the date of publication for State Council Decree No 16 of 27 January 1981, "Concerning the Composition of the Provisional People's Councils of Giurgiu, Ialomita and Calaras Counties, of the Ilfov Agricultural Sector and of Their Executive Committees" (Footnote 30). According to this decree's provisions, the executive committees of these provisional people's councils were composed of deputies and other citizens, who although not deputies, were recognized for their rich political and public work in the state apparatus.

Law No 2 of 16 February 1968, "Concerning the Administrative Organization of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with an annex and a documentary report were republished in July 1981 (Footnote 31). In a table regarding the counties entitled, "A Statistical Profile of the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania," which began with the documentary report, gave the following about the administrative and territorial organization of our country (Footnote 32): 40 Counties; the Bucharest Municipality, with county status and composed of 6 sectors; the Ilfov agricultural sector, subordinate to the Bucharest Municipal People's Council; 56 municipalities (including the Bucharest municipality); 180 cities; 599 component localities of municipalities and cities—in which figure the municipalities and cities are included—2705 communes of which 135 are suburban communes; and 13124 villages of which 232 are attached to municipalities and cities.

From July 1981 until this study went to press, this administrative and territorial structure remained unchanged with the exception that a few communes have been transferred from one county to another and a few villages from subordination to one commune to another within the same county, without there being any changes in the total number of communes and villages. In December 1981 the number of cities was increased from the total in July of the same year, from 180 to 181 as the result of the city Rovinari being established in Gorj county. This was accomplished through State Council Decree No 366 of 9 December 1981 (Footnote 33) so that the number of cities today totals 237—including the 56 municipalities, the latter number including Bucharest. The number of communes totals 2705, as was demonstrated in the general elections to the Grand National Assembly and to the people's councils of all categories that were held on 17 March 1985 (Footnote 34).

Of particular importance for the strong and balanced development of all categories of administrative and territorial units were and continue to be the measures developed later for the systematization of the country—both urban and rural areas—and the improvement of the organization and operation of local and central organs of Romanian state authority and administration. A particularly important role in this regard was the application of the RCP July 1972 National Conference Directives regarding the systematization of the country, of cities and villages, and their economic and social development (Footnote 35). These were given concrete juridical form through a series of legislative acts including: Law No 58 of 29 October 1974, "Concerning the Systematization of the Country and of Urban and Rural Localities," (Footnote 36) and State Council Decree No 56 of 2 March 1978, "Concerning the Organization and Operations of the Party and State Central Commission for Systematization of the Country and or Urban and Rural Localities, and of Local Systematization Commissions" (Footnote 37). We also must point out the particularly important role for the strong and balanced development of all

counties and localities played by the program concerning the socio-economic development of Romania by county for the 5-year plan periods 1981-1985 and 1986-1990. The package of measures in this program ensured the continued implementation of the national program for the systematization of the country and of the urban and rural localities. It provided for the continued dispersal of production forces throughout the country, for the full employment of the work force, and the maximum utilization of the industrial potential created and the material and human resources present in every country and locality. Regarding the goals in this program for raising country's level of urbanization, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, at a 4 September 1985 RCP CC Political Executive Committee session stressed the need that this urbanization not be achieved by massing the population in existing great urban centers and cities, but by raising the level of urbanization of communes and agro-industrial centers. This session, on 4 September 1985, debated and approved the following two important programs: 1. "The Program for Developing Small Industries in the Years 1986-1990," and "The Special Program for Providing Services for the Population in the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan." These documents were then debated by the Third People's Councils Congress held in Bucharest 10-11 September 1985 (Footnote 38). This congress also debated and approved the draft "Law Concerning Economic Self-Management and Self-Financing of Territorial and Administrative Units," which was published (Footnote 39) prior to the Third Congress of People's Councils and presented for wide scale public discussion. It was then discussed and unanimously approved by the Grand National Assembly on 15 November 1985 (Footnote 40). Particularly significant directives of principle and practice contained in the speech delivered by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, at the opening of the Third People's Councils Congress were accepted unanimously by this large forum of our workers' revolutionary democracy as the program for all activities which local organs of state power in all categories of committees and their executive bureaus, all deputies and all citizens of the country undertake and will continue to undertake the full implementation of the historic objectives established by the 13th RCP Congress, and of our country's economic and social development programs to successfully build a multilaterally developed society and to advance Romania toward communism (Footnote 41). The provisions of this law accent the powers of the people's councils to draft and implement socio-economic development plans in their territories, and to direct, organize and supervise the implementation of the plan for all units in their territory regardless of their subordination. To apply the requirements of the new economic-financial mechanism and given the principle of complete self-financing by every administrative and territorial unit, it was established by law that the primary responsibility of the people's councils was to meet their obligations in the economic, socio-cultural and administrative arena with their own income

together with increasing their contribution for the financial means necessary for general development of society. The principal instrument for achieving a financial balance is the budget of income and expenditures of every administrative and territorial unit from the commune to the county, which is developed in the closest conjunction with the plan for socio-economic development. The law specifies which socio-cultural and economic activities and objectives are financed in the territorial budgets and which are financed in the republican budget. It also establishes the contribution in labor and funds of the citizens and economic units to achieve local self-leadership and self-financing and the self-management and strong development of all the country's localities. The drafting and implementation of this law is part of the package of measures of the Romanian party and state leadership designed to enhance the role of local organs of state power and administration in the proper organization, leadership and execution of all activities in the administrative and territorial units from which they were elected and in which they carry out their activities. The implementation of this important normative act's provisions contributes to the improvement of mutual relations between society, the administrative and territorial units, and the citizens. They harmonize, in this way, the general interests of society with those of the group and the individual. Our party and our socialist state have firmly and steadfastly promoted this principle. The great achievements obtained by the Romanian people under the RCP's permanent leadership in the work of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism during the period that has passed since the 1968 territorial and administrative reorganization, forcefully and convincingly demonstrate the justice, realism and scientific characteristics of these important measures for perfecting our socialist society's leadership. These measures have ensured and continue to ensure the strong and balanced development of all the country's counties and localities, and the ever-improving conditions of work and life for all of our country's citizens regardless of their nationality. Referring to this aspect, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and the country's president, said in his 27 February 1987 speech to the joint session of workers' councils of Hungarian and German nationalities in Romania, "One of the great achievements of socialism in our country and of our party's policy is the balanced development and the wide deployment of production forces across the entire country, in every county. Particularly after the new administrative reorganization and the formation of the counties a new basis was established for the powerful development of all regions in our country. There is not a single county where there has not been in the last 20 years the construction of a number of industrial centers or conglomerates which have ensured the conditions of security for the people, raised the level of training and general culture, and ensured equal working and living conditions for all our country's citizens."

"At the same time we have pursued a basic, minimum level of per capita industrial and agricultural production and services for every county. In 1985, the amount of that minimum level of economic activity per capita was 70,000 lei. According to the current 5-year plan, by 1990 this production figure must rise to at least 80,000 lei."

"This all speaks powerfully of the profoundly scientific policies, realism and humanity of our party. These are policies based on the people's interests for raising their level of civilization and life and to achieve true equality of rights for all working people regardless of their nationality (Footnote 42).

Among the great achievements of the years of socialism in Romania—achievements greatly assisted by the continued improvement of the country's administrative and economic organization—note should be made of the following: the national wealth has grown from 330 billion lei in 1950 to 4715 billion lei in 1986, that is fourteen times the earlier figure; the value of fixed assets has grown from 160 million lei in 1944 to approximately 3000 billion lei in 1986, a per capita figure of 130,000 lei; almost 90 percent of fixed assets have been developed in the last 20 years; industrial production in 1986 was 115 times that of 1944, and the value of industrial production grew from 11.4 billion lei in 1944 to over 1300 billion lei in 1986 (Footnote 43).

As the president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out, "Practically speaking, Romanian industry today can produce the most modern machinery and equipment in all domains. Except for nuclear arms, there is not a single area where Romanian industry is not active and cannot achieve high-quality production. This includes avionics and even the production of missiles necessary for our defense."

"Reality in our country, and indeed in the other socialist states, powerfully demonstrates that only when the working class becomes the leading class, where workers, all of the people, are responsible for their own destinies and for the country's wealth, do they know how to best care for their wealth and to use these means to ensure general progress and to raise our nation to new levels of progress and civilization!" (Footnote 44)

Thus, for example, in 1986 the metallurgy industry produced 14 million tons of steel compared to 245,000 tons in 1944; Romania is among the world leaders in per capita steel production. The value of the machine construction industry has grown from 800 million lei in 1944 to 389 billion lei in 1986.

The chemical and petrochemical industries today produce about 1000 times that which they did in 1944. Light industry production is 210 times greater than that of 1944. Other branches of the national economy have developed similarly.

Agricultural production in 1986 was five times greater than that of 1944 and based on this, food industry production was 36 times greater in 1986 (Footnote 45). In the period since the Ninth Party Congress, over 180 complex industrial conglomerates have been created, not only in the traditionally industrial counties but in those counties least developed in the past. Today, the technical machine and tool industry produces over 90 percent of our domestic needs for fulfilling the investment program. Between 1965 and 1985 over 8500 important industrial and agro-animal production units were put into operation. The 1986-1990 5-year plan will add another 900 similar units. At the end of 1985, land under irrigation reached 2,956,300 hectares, that is, 30 percent of the country's arable land. Today every county has fixed funds worth more than 20 billion lei and can achieve a per capita production of at least 70,000 lei. In the 1986-1990 5-year plan, the value of per capita economic activity will rise to 80,000 lei. At least 50,000 lei of that figure will represent industrial production and in 8 counties it will surpass 100,000 lei per capita. In 23 counties, the number of workers has surpassed 300 per 1000 inhabitants. The quality of work and life of our country's citizens continues to improve—for people of all nationalities. This is the supreme goal of our party and state policy, and toward this goal a major contribution was the new territorial and administrative reorganization of 1968 and its later improvements. In this regard, we mention that in the period 1981-85, real income grew by 8 percent and peasant income by 12 percent. Incentives for children grew by 30 percent and social expenditures in 1985 reached 4700 lei per capita. In the 1981-86 5-year plan, over 706,000 new dwellings were occupied and in the period 1986-1990 750,000 more apartments will be constructed. Of these, 100,000 will be in rural areas. This will ensure new dwellings for almost 2.5 million inhabitants (Footnote 46).

Reality in socialist Romania demonstrates that the general progress of society is closely linked to a judicious organization of the country and of local administration. This ensures the appropriate deployment of production forces, the balanced and harmonious development of all zones and localities, the achievement of a superior level of political and organizational functioning of our socialist state, the full use of local resources and initiative, the deepening and broadening of revolutionary workers' democracy, the qualitative improvement of life and work for all Romanian people and the phased elimination of essential distinctions between village and city.

In connection with this last aspect—that of the phased harmonization of working and living conditions in village and city—is the process of transforming a significant number of communes subordinate to agro-industrial cities through systematization and modernization. Priority in this regard is being given to the 558 communes of the state and cooperative agro-industrial unitary council centers which, as a group, will become "model communities" during the current 5-year plan

(1986-1990). Indeed, they will become agro-industrial cities where the entire activity of the communes within the respective council areas will gravitate.

At the same time, attention must always be paid in all communal construction to the guidelines of systematization, to the type of construction established for all localities. The unitary agro-industrial council will become a fundamental factor in agricultural production and village modernization as was stressed by the RCP secretary general and president of the Republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, in his speech on 24 February 1987 at the opening session of the training and instructional program for party organizations and chairmen of unitary state and cooperative agro-industrial councils (Footnote 47).

#### Footnotes

1. ROMANIA LIBERA, XXV 1967, No 7142, 6 Oct, p 1
2. Ibid, No 7146, 11 Oct, pp 1, 2. See also the brochure entitled, "Basic Principles Adopted by the RCP Central Committee Plenary Session of 5-6 October 1967 Regarding the Improvement of the Administrative and Territorial Organization of Romania and the Systematization of Rural Localities. A Draft," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1967, 28 pages.
3. ROMANIA LIBERA, XXV, 1967, No 7143, 7 Oct, p 1
4. Ibid, No 7143, 11 Oct, pp 1-2
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, Report to the RCP National Conference, 6 December 1967." Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1967, 123 pages.
6. Ibid, pp 90-97
7. ROMANIA LIBERA, XXV, 1967, No 7197, 9 Dec, p 1
8. BULETINUL OFICIAL, IV, 1968, Part I, No 16 of 16 Feb, pp 128-130
9. Ibid, No 17-18 of 17 Feb, pp 132-182
10. Ibid, pp 135-136
11. Ibid, Part II-A, No 1 of 16 Feb, pp 3-10
12. Ibid, No 2 of 17 Feb, pp 1-42
13. Ibid, No 3 of 19 Feb, pp 1-7
14. BULETINUL OFICIAL, IV, 1968, No 16 of 16 Feb, pp 128-130
15. Ibid, No 17, 18 of 17 Feb, pp 132-182

16. Ibid, pp 133-134
17. Ibid, p 134
18. Ibid, No 163-165 of 20 Dec, Part I-a, p 1743—contents of the modifications to the law; pp 1487-1672 (Annex) and pp 1673-1742
19. Ibid, p 1673
20. Ibid, pp 1487-1491
21. Ibid, pp 1492-1672
22. Ibid, pp 135-136
23. ROMANIA LIBERA, XXXV-1977, No 10288 of 22 Nov, p 1
24. BULETINUL OFICIAL, XV 1979, Part I-a, No 69 of 1 Aug, p 1
25. Ibid, pp 1-2
26. Ibid, pp 2-4
27. Ibid, XVI 1980, No 45 of 12 Mar, p 1
28. SCINTEIA, L 1981, No 11951 of 24 Jan, pp 1-2
29. BULETINUL OFICIAL, XVII 1981, Part 1-a, No 3 of 23 Jan, pp 1-10
30. Ibid, No 5 of 27 Jan, pp 1-2
31. Ibid, No 54-55 of 17 Jul, pp 1-230
32. Ibid, p 173
33. Ibid, No 104 of 9 Dec, p 4
34. SCINTEIA, LIV 1985, No 13242 of 20 Mar, p 1, "Communiqué of the Socialist Republic of Romania State Council Concerning the 17 March 1985 Elections for Deputies to the People's Councils."
35. "The Romanian Communist Party National Conference of 19-21 July 1972," Editura Politica, Bucharest 1972, pp 476-498
36. BULETINUL OFICIAL, X 1974, Part I-a, No 135 of 1 Nov, pp 1-8
37. Ibid, XIV 1978, No 14 of 3 Mar, pp 1-10
38. "The Third Congress of the People's Councils, 10-11 September 1985," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1986
39. SCINTEIA, LV 1985, No 13377 of 27 Aug, pp 5-6; Ibid, No 13447 of 16 Nov, pp 1, 4
40. Ibid, No 13447 of 16 Nov, pp 1, 4
41. "The Third Congress of the People's Councils, 10-11 September 1985," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1986, pp 19-45, 131-138, and 141
42. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Joint Session of Workers of Hungarian and German Nationality, 27 February 1987." In the volume, "Plenary Sessions of the Councils of Workers of Hungarian and German Nationality in the Socialist Republic of Romania, 26-27 February 1987," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1987, p 10.
43. Ibid, p 8
44. Ibid, pp 8-9
45. Ibid, p 9
46. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Third Congress of Working People, 4 September 1986," in the volume, "The Third Congress of Working People in the Socialist Republic of Romania, 4-6 September 1986," Editura Politica, Bucharest, 1986, pp 20, 21. See also material published in SCINTEIA, LV 1986, No 13654 of 17 Jul, p 3 and No 13862 of 19 Aug, p 2.
47. SCINTEIA, LV 1987, No 13845 of 25 Feb, pp 1-3

12280

**Universally Valid 'Model' for Party Rejected**  
27000062 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian  
23 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ion Mitran: "The Party and the Socialist Unity of the People"]

[Text] The entry into a new, higher stage of the revolutionary process in Romania with the creation of the unified workers party in 1948 laid the foundations for a strong party, capable of securing the radical transformation of Romanian society. Through its many consequences, this historic act has been recorded as one of the crucial moments in the advance along the path of socialist revolution and construction and has provided the organizational and political conditions for fulfilling the working class' high mission of building and perfecting the new order. From this perspective, the significance of the event of 4 decades ago appears in the abundance of its theoretical and practical, national and international values.

Now, 40 years after the creation of the unified workers party, and the achievement of the unity of the working class, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "we can state, on the basis of the realities, of the undeniable facts, that without the existence of the unity of the working class,

without a unified party for it—the Romanian Communist Party—we would not have been able to obtain the great results along the path of forging the socialist society."

Today, in general, one of the matters widely discussed on an international level refers to the functions and role of the agencies of political leadership, with the contemporary world constantly involving politics and reflecting, with the prescribed consequences, the results of applied politics. In scientific socialism's view, this feature of the era, strikingly brought out by the confrontations of ideas, shows that the question of power, of political leadership, is the key to the social future, metaphorically speaking. Of course, the function of political power is decisively conditioned by the nature of the political system, by its social essence, while a determination which is always of current importance in the field, a matter of concern to the political sciences, in the approaches to the various doctrines, in philosophical views, is that the force of historical affirmation of large groups—classes, parties, nations—should be measured by their capacity for creation in the interest of the masses and together with the masses. In connection with this, as Marxist theory has demonstrated and openly maintains, as practice shows, and as it is desirable to confirm at a higher level by consistently applying the principles of scientific socialism, the manifestation of the advantages of the new, socialist civilization constitutes the result of the conscious, creative effort, of the contribution to social progress as revolutionary historical renewal. Such a contribution is the expression of the functionality of the political system of the new order, within which the party of the working class, without taking the place of the other components of this system, occupies the central place.

It is surely no accident that, among the theoretical and practical problems of organizing and managing the new order, the party's functions in the political system represent a current topic in the discussion regarding the renewal of socialist construction. At the same time, in contrast with past stages, in non-Marxist, even anti-Marxist, political science, the subject often raised is no longer, as it was 3-4 decades ago, the "legitimacy" of the ruling parties in the socialist countries, vehemently contested then, without it being possible to say that anti-communism may have abandoned such a "scapegoat," but the method of exercising political leadership and its structures. Some political doctrines, counterposing, from the so-called "democratic perspective," the "multiparty" system to the "one-party" system, starting a priori and abstractly from the thesis or, more precisely, the preconception of "the absence of democracy in the absence of several political parties," bring into discussion the alleged incompatibility between unified leadership and the "diversity" of social interests. An extrapolation of the "conflict model" of the class interests characteristic of the capitalist society, the "democratic-pluralist" view is nothing more than the biased ideological judgment of this "model" as being applicable to any political system.

Referring to the unscientific character of such a thesis, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the essential thing is not the smaller or larger number of parties, since there can be a single party and there may be a true, broad democratic life, just as there can be many parties and there may not be real democracy. On the other hand, it is an obvious truth that the one-party system does not represent a universally valid "standard" either: The concrete-historical conditions are what generates, in the revolutionary process, the forms and structures of social and political leadership, including the number of parties participating or involved, in one way or another, in the governing of society.

Under Romania's conditions, the creation of the unified party of the working class in February 1948, crowning a series of earlier joint actions by the organizations, personnel, and members of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party and by the workers, responded to historical necessity, to one of the basic problems of the continuation of socialist revolution and construction. The schism in our working-class movement was thus ended, with the party having new possibilities of being actively and continually integrated into the social realities, of devising a strategy closely connected with life, and of successfully guiding the people's broad movement to build socialism, a process that was to be expanded under the aegis of the innovative guidelines of the ninth congress.

Thus, the exercise of the party's leading role has constituted and constitutes the decisive factor in the implementation of the profound transformations that have radically changed Romania's appearance, especially in the period of the last 2 decades, characterized by the strong affirmation of new political thinking. In the light of experience, it can be stated that one of the basic truths of the theory of scientific socialism—leadership by the party—demonstrates its validity in the form and content of the thesis that confers on the party the function of the vital center of the entire society.

The original theoretical and practical approach by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu starts from the principled consideration according to which "the party represents the nucleus around which the entire society revolves and from which radiate the energy and light that set in motion and ensure the functioning of the entire machinery of the socialist order." In this view, the Communist Party, thoroughly mastering the theory of scientific socialism, the dialectical-materialistic method of studying and interpreting social life, constitutes the subjective factor that has the mission and capability of orienting society's development in accordance with the action of the objective laws. This follows from, among other things, the real possibility of attaining, from a historical viewpoint, as the founders of scientific socialism foresaw, a clear understanding of the conditions, course, and results of social movement, the capacity to derive life's laws from its dialectics.

The strategic choices of the national congresses and conferences, forums for collectively discussing and formulating the general line, and the implementation of these choices, which have generated qualitative transformations in the social structure and relations, in the material base, in the spiritual physiognomy of the nation, having become a socialist nation, in our entire society, reflect expressively the party's position of a highly creative force. Around it revolves the entire society, from it come the political initiatives, the impulses that set in motion and ensure the harmonious functioning of the complex machinery of the Romanian socialist order. Thus, the optimum functioning of the mechanisms of our society depends more and more on increasing the role of the party, on continually adapting its forms of organization and activity to the changes in social life. A series of objective and subjective factors organically, continually operate in this direction such as: the structural relationship between the Communist Party and the working class and among the party, the working class, and the broad masses of people; the formulation—in close connection with the masses—of a unified, coherent political line that expresses the basic interests of the socialist nation, of all the social categories; the taking into consideration of the general principles of scientific socialism and the enrichment of them by utilizing the experience generated by creatively applying them to concrete-historical conditions, to national features; the necessity of providing scientific leadership and the optimization of the organization of society in the context of the upsurge in the production forces under the impact of the advanced stage of the scientific and technical revolution, of the modernization of the new order in its entirety; the accentuation of the phenomenon of direct and representative participation by the working people in the management of society and the strong affirmation of revolutionary working-class democracy; the raising of the level of consciousness and competence of the Communists and of the working people in general; the growing complexity of economic and social development, of the domestic and foreign conditions under which this process is occurring.

The objectives and tasks set by the 13th congress and the national conference indicate strikingly the truth according to which, as the tasks connected with the application of the general principles of socialism, of its objective laws, become more complex and presuppose better performance indices, unitary political leadership becomes all the more necessary. This interdependence constitutes one of the essential relationships on which is based the requirement of increasing the leading role of the party, from which comes the unity between the objective and subjective premises for exercising it, starting from society's general interests under the conditions of social homogenization.

In the process of socialist revolution and construction, as a result of the profound qualitative transformations in all fields—in the economy, in the class structure, in the political system, in culture and ideology—the socialist

unity of our entire population has been formed and developed as a driving force for historical progress. The Communist Party—its unity of conception and action—constitutes the catalyzing factor in the immense social energy that this new and strong unity releases.

In the context of social homogenization, against the background of basic general interests, a variety of specific interests continues to exist, of course, it being important that they be examined within the institutions of socialist democracy and be resolved starting from the goals of the new order, from its superior revolutionary humanism. And since the principle of democratic life has a prominent place among the basic principles of organization—both of the party and of society—it is clear that the functionality of its application is in the center of attention. The gains of socialism in our country, including the original structures and mechanisms of revolutionary working-class democracy, are the result of the Communist Party's strategy, of the creative application of the general laws to the country's concrete conditions, of the capacity to rationally unite and organize the efforts of the whole population. Such a historical process has established and confirmed the party's role, and has validated as a deep-seated belief of all the working people, regardless of nationality, the party's social and political function as the vital center of our entire society, a function performed under the conditions of the manifestation of political power as sovereignty of the people, as an expression of the constructive force of our free and independent socialist nation, which draws its force and vitality from the solid alliance of all the social categories and classes.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently point out, "the political and social basis of our order consists of the solid alliance among the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all the other working people, regardless of nationality, the unity of our entire populace within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, under the political leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, the guiding political force of our entire nation, the guarantee of the implementation of socialism and communism in our homeland."

Acting and leading together with the people and for the people, the party is present and operates as a factor for unifying the nation's efforts in all spheres of social life—from the production of material assets to ideological and educational activity, from the improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic, and cultural life, from domestic policy to foreign policy; in short, the party is present and operates in all units and staffs of working people. Its role of a political leader is thus fulfilled in all of the components of this function, in a process that indicates the organic indissoluble unity between the formulation of the general political line and the application of it through the performance of a vast political and organizational activity.

The Romanian experience, social practice, refutes the opinions sometimes expressed in the social and political literature abroad, according to which the Communist Party's role of a ruling party should be viewed exclusively from the perspective of an abstract ideological function of "theoretical" formulation of the ways of socialist development, with their practical application remaining in the charge of other social and political structures and institutions. At the same time, the unilateralism of the views that restrict this role to that of a mere instrument of power, an organization for practical and administrative action, should be pointed out. However, the force of the revolutionary party, the condition for fulfilling its function, resides in the unitary combination of ideological and conceptional work with political and organizational work, in the simultaneous exercise of all the prerogatives of social and political leadership. Of course, this process cannot be imagined as occurring according to patterns set once and for all, but evolves continually, in accordance with the conditions and tasks specific to each stage. On the other hand, in exercising its role and functions, the party is not situated above society, does not operate as a "vanguard" detached from it, as an issuer of directives and orders. Our party is now a true mass party that has over 3.6 million members, and its social composition fully reflects the role and percentage of the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the intelligentsia, so that it can be said that, from both a numerical and a qualitative viewpoint, it represents—as a unified ruling party—the concentrated expression of the will and interests of all the social categories, of the entire society. At the same time, throughout the party's activity, the close connection with all categories of working people, the collaboration with the masses, represents one of the principles continually applied in a great variety and vigorous fluidity of forms.

The party performs its role by securing the full unity between domestic and foreign policy, starting from the basic truth that its historical mission, its obligations to the working class, to the Romanian people, are fulfilled within the framework of mankind's general evolution toward socialism, in the context of a multitude of international events and phenomena and of the reality that, as regards the socialist countries, the new order has raised national independence and sovereignty, political categories of essential significance in the current era, to a higher level. The principles of relations among the communist and workers parties are of decisive theoretical-ideological and practical-political importance in this regard: equality, respect for independence, for each one's right to formulate its own line, collaboration and solidarity in tackling and solving the problems of mutual interest. Their observance represents now, under the conditions of new political thinking, the foundation for the development of solidarity and collaboration, for the attainment of real unity and effective and efficient solidarity that would exclude any interference by any party in the affairs of other parties.

An expression of the conditions characteristic of Romania, the creation of a unified workers party and its

affirmation as a guiding force in the process of revolutionary transformation of Romanian society, in close unity with the people and for the benefit and sovereignty of the nation, in the interest of social progress and peace throughout the world, represent an outstanding contribution to enriching the treasury and practice of socialist revolution and construction.

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**Mainstream Writer Discusses 'Truth,'  
'Dogmatism'**

27000061 Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA  
in Romanian 3 Mar 88 p 8

[Article by Ion Lancranjan: "Truth Is Harsh"]

[Text] The truth is for the most part vexing. Any truth is vexing, and artistic truth in particular. In saying this I do not refer to the truth resulting from (or reached by) naming facts and circumstances about which nothing has been said. I refer, on the contrary, to fundamental truths relating to the real meanings of a particular evolution or involution. I refer to what is not seen, what has not been observed and named by anyone. The unseen and unnamed part of things has been the chief source of nourishment of art and literature since antiquity. He who does not see, he who does not observe the essential, he who is not capable of penetrating by prolonged investigation and intense reflection the very essence of phenomena, he who is not capable of divining by intuition the dialectic in the eternal change of the human soul, has no prospect of noticing even a fragment of truth, no matter how much and how persistently he might avoid things, no matter how many flourishes he might affix to paper, how many writings he might compose. Not even if he becomes a textual critic will he reach this ultimate, essential objective of literature and art. All great creative artists have seen what very many others have not seen, each in his own way penetrating to places which no one else has reached, each in his own way thus populating territory about the existence of which nothing was known, firmly and unhesitatingly adding to the known world, as Columbus at one time added the territories of the new world to the territories of the world from which he set out. They have sung of man and his deeds, without avoiding the inevitable harshness and hardness of life, dwelling with pride and pain on man's own downfalls and losses, stressing in one way or another man's almost inexhaustible ability to find himself again and be better and more daring. Hence their unperishing silhouettes have endured and continue to endure. Because others who have tested the depths of the water with their fingers, those who have become lost in the overwhelming thickets of details, whether positive or negative, have lost their way. This is the punishment of time, the verdict rendered by memory on those who have pushed and continue to move things forward being without appeal.

The truth of an assertion in the form of struggle remains valid, the self-realization of a man who participates in a constructive activity being virtually without limit (of course, if the man in question has sufficient resources, mental and physical, enabling him to go through all the stages). However, this truth is not sufficient when it is a question of creating an entire body of work rather than just a single book. Ultimately men of all kinds participate in the struggle; they are encountered at any time, but especially at times of great and profound social changes. Consequently, the "bad" as well as the "good" participate, to use an old classification of men, into good and bad, old but also relative, since goodness is not a given, and badness on the other hand not being a curse. As real life fully demonstrates, men have existed and do exist who have been exemplary all their lives, not just 1 day in their lives or just 1 year. Along with such men, many men have existed and do exist, again as is shown by real life (if we face it clearsightedly), who have attached themselves to the skirts of revolution to secure themselves employment or to take revenge in the narrow sense of the word, to allow their complexes full sway, to dedicate themselves passionately to an activity which has other objectives, other passions, everything which is dark in the nature of their being. Careerists properly speaking, all who think of achieving the easiest livelihood as quickly as possible are not as dangerous (and as complex) as are dedicated persons, from the ranks of whom are recruited the possessed persons of this end of the century and millennium. This is a detail which should not be overlooked. This is so because pseudo-revolutionaries have generated excesses and atrocities in the revolutionary process. Their true essence is manifested especially when they no longer hold the complicated and strong levers of power in their hands.

The idea of emphasizing the truth by all kinds of "artistic arrangements," more or less pharmaceutical, currently succeeds by cloaking itself in objectivity. Only in the following manner can we write about our new realities: by constantly stressing the positive to the detriment of the negative. It may happen, however, and it has happened in the past and will happen in the future, that only the idea, the significance proper of the work involved, will be positive in an essay, short story, or novel. The truth of Grigori Melekhov does not contradict the fundamental truths of the revolution, despite the fact that he is not a revolutionary, is not a "positive." However, he is

also not "negative." Negative in this case and in others of the same kind is this bureaucratic separation, negative and positive, black and white, which has been, is, and always will be dogmatic in origin, and, as is well known from fairly extensive experience, dogmatism is the mortal enemy of authentic art.

It is interesting to note that both legitimization of new relations and stressing the complexity of the new realities have been and are accomplished by (and through) books expressing attitudes, by books which have critically approached the way in which the revolution has been and is being carried out, and not by those who have relied on a priori pathos, even though this pathos has been honest. The critical attitude is not, of course, always the same, as is believed by the "professional dogmatists," always involving denigration, but without it, with no lucid and detailed investigation of the contradictions of life, it is impossible to arrive at artistic synthesis of high rank. And the truth, in its turn, can be reached only through synthesis, by choice of the noble metals from the amorphous masses of levelling barren ore, by pointing out major meanings.

The man of today, who is involved in building a new system, experiencing intense joy whenever he succeeds in his work, saddened and suffering greatly whenever he fails, has needed and still needs truth as he needs air. He has looked for, and still looks for, in our books what he has thought but has not formulated, what he has divined by intuition but has not yet said, that which is floating in the air. He has no need of flattery or praise, however artistically it may be executed. But he also has no need of confusion, in view of the fact that he has been and is involved in a constant and increasingly acute ideological confrontation. He has not regarded and does not regard literature merely as reading but as a suggestion made to him by life itself.

The truth, like courage, has not belonged and does not belong to any particular person, but it has also not been friendly to those who have been moved by the desire to show it out of pride, without experiencing the pain of disappointment, or—why not?—the power-giving joy of success. On the artistic plane, truth cannot exist apart from value.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### High-Tech Production Association MIKROELEKTRONIKA Started

High-Tech Production Association  
**ELEKTRONIKA**  
24000077d Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech  
3 Feb 88 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Eng Milan Frnka, vice-chairman for cybernetics, KSC candidate, by Vratislav Prikzsky]

[Text] The founding of the High-Tech Production Association MIKROELEKTRONIKA unquestionably was a milestone in the history of microelectronics in CSR. At the end of last year there were 45 organizations among the founding members, and others are showing great interest in joining the association. The goal of the association is to support the production of computers and microelectronic operating equipment. In this, the unified agricultural cooperative Agrokombinat Slusovice (JZD AK Slusovice) is playing an important role. We must add that the association will reach also into the area of service, training of specialists, and expansion of facilities of the program.

On 20 October 1987 deputy chairman for cybernetics JZD AK Slusovice (at that time he was director of ZAK 2) attended the inauguration of the high-tech production association MIKROELEKTRONIKA. I asked him some questions:

[Question] Can you explain the goals and tasks of this association to the members of the cooperative?

[Answer] Its establishment was actually the culmination of our endeavors—to supply on the basis of microcomputer production at JZD AK Slusovice all departments and enterprises managed by the Czech government. We are expected to produce 214,000 computers by the year 1990. It thus became necessary to create some kind of organization for cooperation among organizations which share in the production. For example, in this sector about 40 organizations have direct economic links with our JZD. Various forms of cooperation were proposed, and in the end the high-tech association was approved, which, however, does not have the character of an independent economic organization. It has the character of a free association where there is a designated observer, which is our cooperative. Only those can be members of the association who have concluded an economic agreement with the observer. That is the basic idea, but I am not insisting that it will always be the case....

[Question] What is the organizational structure of the new association?

[Answer] All its members are represented on the association board which has three sections—production, science, and application. The chairman of the board is the

deputy of the Czech Commission for Research and Development and Capital Investment, Eng Z. Smely, vice-chairman is the deputy minister for agriculture Eng V. Prochazka, another vice-chairman is deputy minister of the electrical engineering industry Eng Haman. One member of the board is Eng M. Kubik, deputy chairman for automation, who was delegated by deputy premier RSDR R. Hegenbartem to assume direct management of the entire association. The board has a task—to overcome all barriers which would stand in the way of the association's activities, negotiate at the ministerial level, play a role in foreign trade, etc. The association board will meet twice a year to evaluate its activities and determine future directions.

[Question] The Association then has its program. What implications does it have for us as observers?

[Answer] We must produce computers with the active assistance of all members of the association and thus fulfill the resolution of the Czech government. For us that means to build a production line for manufacturing 150,000 computers a year. We are expected to manufacture about 130,000 8 bit computers and 80,000 16 bit computers. The 8 bit computers are based on the present TNS. These will be computers TNS-GC/W with a Winchester drive memory of 20 megabytes and large capacity operational memory, and above all computers TNS-HC8, which are designated on a priority basis for school rooms. We intend to supply these computers in combinations, for each TNS-GCW computer we shall include on the average 10 TNS-HC8 computers.

[Question] To guarantee the implementation of these tasks two microstructures were created in the JZD AK Slusovice.

[Answer] The microstructure of microelectronics has plants for: computers (final assembly of computers TNS-GC and TNS-HC), modules (manufacture, fitting, and debugging of electronic modules), instruments (manufacture of special instruments and main board connections), and services (service and development of technical equipment). The microstructure of cybernetics has plants for: marketing and technical services (sale of electronic products, distribution, instruction), software (development and production of programs), final assembly (final assembly of TNS-AT computers), and outside memory (manufacture of C/Z heads, final assembly of floppy discs).

Every reorganization means a certain unpleasant transitional period, and for that reason the main tasks given are for quick adaptation to the new production programs and stabilization of work collectives under the new circumstances.

Thank you for talking to us.

### **Characteristics, Concept of Microstructure of Microelectronics Development**

*24000077d Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech  
3 Feb 88 pp 4, 5*

[Article by Eng Miroslv Janda, deputy chairman for microelectronics]

[Text] The basic function of the microstructure of microelectronics is the manufacture of computers of domestic construction, i.e., TNS computers and related research and development, installation, application, and service system. In 1988 these functions are being performed by 4 divisions.

#### **Computer Division**

It performs the final stage of assembly of the computer systems. It does the final assembling, seasons, tests, and prepares all types of microcomputer combinations for shipment. Its key product next year will be the professional microcomputer TNS-GC, the so-called Grafic-computer. It differs markedly from the previous models particularly by having color graphics and a several times greater memory, making it possible to use programs at a substantially higher level.

An entirely new program next year will be the production of TNS-HC. It is a modern, single disk drive microcomputer designated as the final intelligent terminal of the TNS network. It will form the basis of computer classes in high schools and gradually also in other types of schools in CSSR. This year the production capacity of the computer is to reach 30,000 units, and most of the responsibility for this task will rest with the second microstructure division.

#### **Module Division**

Its current yearly production is about 20,000 modules of 40 types. A newly installed technology costing almost Kcs 50 million will make it possible to substantially change the character of the electronic module production. It will mean a transition from a semi-automated to a fully automated manufacturing process. The end result will be, for example, that one HC computer will be produced at 5-minute intervals, skill requirements of production workers will be substantially lower, and dependability of the product substantially higher. With the help of this technology we shall be able to count also with cooperation with world companies advanced in the production of electronics.

#### **Instrument Division**

It is responsible for the manufacture of some electromechanical computer parts—such as power supplies, cassettes, and keyboards, and it also manufactures laboratory instruments. The focus of this division lies in

working with the cooperating enterprises, but we shall aim to replace economically unsatisfactory and inadaptable sub-suppliers with internal production capacities.

#### **Service Division**

It guarantees continual development of computers, but at the same time is responsible also for servicing, shipping and interoperational control in manufacturing plants.

In the area of development, the service division is readying a number of new modules for next year (particularly for the use of computers for the control of technological processes). We shall be giving special attention in the next period to the comprehensive program of technology control, because the automation of production of all kinds in CSSR is still a considerably neglected area, and customers' requests for systems of this type will grow rapidly.

Other major development projects which the service division will undertake are:

1. transition to a 12 bit IBM compatible system using single disk drive microcomputer units of state-of-the-art construction,
2. development of custom integrated circuits, which will substantially simplify construction of the product and increase its dependability,
3. very important is cooperation in developing a 32 bit microcoputer in CSSR.

In order to accomplish these challenging tasks, all divisions will apply again next year the tried-and-true principles of socialist care including a stake in the final production, technical level and quality of the products or services. In addition, the amount of special payment to an employee will be directly dependent on regular personal evaluation, and not only in the THP category.

#### **Tasks for Production and Development**

Production and development tasks of all divisions of the microstructure for 1988 will guarantee at least a doubling of traditional production next year and will create conditions for developing large scale production of microcomputers of the most advanced construction.

However, we shall endeavor to attain steady production of tens of thousands of computer units with parameters, including prices, which could compete with world standards. Thus in addition to their usual tasks, each division is working on its own developmental program, such as production of main board connections, automation of the final assembly of electronic products, manufacture of keyboards, and modernization of service and development. The realization of these and other programs will ensure good prosperity for us even in the future years,

but it also calls for close cooperation with other microstructures, particularly with domestic and foreign markets, construction and assembly plants, and production of plastics.

We are looking forward to such cooperation and believe that it will be an interesting and beneficial cooperation not only for the entire JZD AK Slusovice enterprise, but also for the individual divisions.

**Bring Large Measure of Utility for Society**  
*24000077d Slusovice NASE CESTA in Czech*  
*3 Feb 88 pp 4, 5*

[Interview with Deputy Chairman Josef Lizal]

[Text] On Monday 21 December 1987, Deputy Chairman Josef Lizal took over the management of the microstructure for research and development and capital investment of the JZD AK Slusovice. I asked him some questions in this connection.

[Question] When you took over the management of the microstructure, it brought, among other things, some organizational changes. Can you acquaint the readers of NASE CESTA with them?

[Answer] In the new organizational arrangement, the microstructure for VTIR has 6 divisions and 2 specialized operations. They are Agroinvesta, the Division for Developing Agricultural Chemistry, Agrogen, the Educational Division, Agropublic, and the division Vietnam. In addition, an independent operation of the Czechoslovak base has been created in the last mentioned division. The other independent operation is a specialized information and technical development operation.

[Question] Will there be any changes in the concept of the function of the microstructure?

[Answer] In the past, the activity of the microstructure was directed mainly to providing services in many different areas of production and non-production activities of the cooperative, beginning with scientific research and technical production data, and ending with the organization of cultural and sports activities. The newly organized complex of plants and operations substantially broadens the spectrum of the activities of the microstructure, in the area of the capital investment policy of the JZD, scientific research and date processing, as well as in the area of the economy and trade contracts outside the borders of the republic. I would like to emphasize that all our activities in scientific research, development, information, sports, and contracting is aimed at creating sources of earnings, profits, and economic benefits. In the long range outlook, it should considerably help the development of the JZD AK Slusovice by a large volume of output and earnings.

[Question] We have already informed our readers about the new division Vietnam in detail. Could you briefly describe the concept of the activities of the other divisions of your microstructure for this year?

[Answer] Let us begin with Agroinvesta. It is to prepare the ground for the development of capital investment and for the implementation of production and social programs. I expect that in its conceptual, solving, design, and legislative work it will fully utilize its experiences and new scientific and technological advances. In practice, of special importance is a timely completion of the capital construction for the production of lysine, development of microelectronics, and raising of meat-producing poultry for brood stock, but also the streamlining of the JZD transportation system, further construction of the stadium in Vsemin, and last but not least, construction of apartments and single-family houses. The employees of Agroinvesta should realize projected assignments in the value of Kcs 2 million, and bring in Kcs 120 million of economic benefits to the cooperative.

The Division for Developing Agricultural Chemistry will again this year continue its work on state assignments in scientific research aimed at using zeolite in agriculture and development of disinfectants for agricultural use. It also focuses its attention on laboratory research of pheromones and bringing it to production standard, on developing syntheses, and certifying pesticides. Among other things, the plant will also engage in control and service activities.

The plant Agrogen was built as a CSSR coordinating workplace with the objective to develop methods of genetic engineering and determine technological procedures in fermentation biochemistry. For example, it will work in specialized workplaces on routine genetic manipulation, selection of the most effective strains of microorganisms, plant biotechnology, etc. The challenging work at the plant will require that the construction of its specialized work place be finished and furnished with laboratories. The production plan of this division assumes a marked increase in economic productivity.

Agropublik and the Educational Division had their activity for 1988 functionally predetermined—to provide services to the members of the cooperative in culture, sports, and specialized education. I particularly emphasize the perfect organization of cultural, social and sports events. I expect that the economic benefit for the provided educational process, data, and printing will be greater than thus far.

Last but not least, the VTIR microstructure will apply itself to the extensive problems of obtaining, processing, and selling techno-economic data. Such activity with a commercial aspect follows the world trends in building the data processing industry. The specialized Operations for Data and Technical Development has been organized for this very purpose.

[Question] Where did the restructuring of the economic mechanism have the most impact on the activities of your microstructure?

[Answer] I already stressed at the beginning the broad spectrum of activities of the microstructure VTIR and its function in the manufacturing, cultural, organizational, and scientific development areas of the JZD AK Slusovice. Even though it is up to the budget organization, all employees and organizers must keep in view the final effect of their work—that is economic utility. Therefore investment, in research and in enterprise, supports and influences the implementation of the main development programs of the JZD AK Slusovice.

12605

**Restructuring of Enterprise Base Viewed**  
*24000077c Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*  
*1 Mar 88 p 1*

[Text] Today, RUDE PRAVO is publishing the Principles of Restructuring the Organizational Structures of the Enterprise Base, Relocating, and Financially Securing Released Workers. It is an important document worked out on the basis of the decisions of the 7th Plenum of the KSC Central Committee, which provides a blueprint for restructuring the current economic production units, national enterprises, and enterprises managed by the national committees or their organizations, into a new form of economic organization—state enterprise.

The restructuring of the enterprise base in no way means a mere organizational change. That would not meet the objectives of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. The dissolution of economic production units and the general directorates of the economic production units as agencies of the middle management sector creates conditions for a consistent application of the principle of a two-tier management of the national economy and for a transition to an entirely new method of planning. At the same time, conditions are being provided for applying the principle of full khozraschet and self-financing of basic sectors of the national economy, and thus also for greater initiative on the part of the work collectives. This is actually a fulfillment of objectives which were formulated on the basis of the public discussion about the draft law on national enterprise. The draft law will be discussed during this half of the year in the Federal Assembly, and the law itself is to be partially put into force during the course of this year.

However, we cannot entertain the notion that the middle management sector will be automatically abolished, that economic production units will be merely renamed as state enterprises, and otherwise nothing will change. It has been demonstrated that our current structure of production no longer serves the needs of the development of socialist economy. In the past, large production units, whose components were not always organically

linked together, became predominant. An unwarranted monopoly of certain types of products came into being, many of the colossi were not able or willing to react with flexibility to the changing requirements of the domestic as well as foreign markets. However, besides large enterprises, the economy also needs medium-sized and small enterprises which are better able to handle such tasks. The present state economic organizations will therefore be merged, combined, divided, or abolished and new state enterprises established, while some enterprises will retain their size.

The above-mentioned process cannot be left to improvisation. The main criterion for the creation of new state enterprises must be, above all, public interest in shaping an optimum structure of the national economy. The enterprises with an integrated production program in harmony with the objectives for developing the economy and a successful economic performance even under the present conditions, are primarily the ones that can be made independent. This is not yet always understood. Many think that independence means a stroll in a rose garden, they see only advantages. But independence brings not only more rights, but also greater responsibility, under which any false step will immediately show up in economic results. Not everyone is able to cope with the new requirements.

However, the restructuring of the enterprise base is not an affair only of the ministry and other central agencies. It would be problematical to talk about the economic reform bringing more independence to the enterprises, if their work collectives, party and trade union organizations had no say in how their enterprise should look. It is often precisely "at the bottom" where they know best which conditions or partners they need the most for achieving more efficiency in production. It also makes a difference if workers can share in the planning of basic decisions concerning their enterprise, rather than everything being ordered "from above." Then they will cope more vigorously and willingly even with eventual hardships.

The principles which are published here proceed from that. Proposals for establishing a state enterprise can be submitted independently not only by enterprises, but also their plants, without regard to the position or plans of their superior agencies. They also convey the opinion of the party and labor union organization. They may be entirely new proposals, or those which were already formulated earlier, particularly in connection with the public discussion on the draft law on state enterprise. It is important that each proposal must really prove not only the ability of the enterprise to manage independently on the basis of a full khozraschet and self-financing, but also the ability to perform tasks stemming from the 5-year plan and contracts with customers. No allowances can be expected in this respect. Only the fulfillment of the tasks of the 5-year plan creates conditions for a successful course of the economic reform and a dynamic growth of the national economy.

But it should not happen that in an organization which is a good candidate for independence, caution prevails in the end because of fear of the superior agencies, and thus the proposal is not submitted. Each such application must be thoroughly discussed in the departments and in the case that it is rejected, the rejection substantively justified. For the sake of maximum objectivity, rejected proposals will be studied also by an independent committee of experts. For example, the fact that an enterprise has lesser production assets cannot be a reason for not making it independent, because measures are expected which will provide for a certain leveling of unequal starting out conditions of the organizations. The blueprints of organizational restructuring of individual departments will be then presented to the central agencies and the CSSR Government will make a decision about their implementation.

We do not have unlimited time for restructuring the enterprise base. As was determined by the 7th Plenum of the KSC Central Committee, the first stage of the conversion of the present economic organizations to state enterprises will be completed already by 1 July 1988. Even though it will involve mainly undisputed cases, and primarily in those branches which are verifying the new management rules on a trial basis or which will convert ahead of time to the new method of management, there is not much time left. But work is in full swing in all the departments. The point now will be to step it up. The restructuring is supposed to be completed by 1 July 1989. Even after that, however, we cannot think that the case is closed. The state enterprises are being created at a time when the old mechanism still functions alongside the emerging new economic mechanism, and thus even in the future the founder will be obliged to be flexible in adjusting his production base flexibly to needs.

But this is not the only task on which the attention of society is focused. Concurrently with the preparations for restructuring the technical production base, work is being done on a new order in central management. The point is to create, in harmony with the new economic mechanism, not only an efficient system of state enterprises formed consistently on the principle of economic, technical and technological linkages of their units, but also a more efficient structure and activities of the center, that means the ministries and other central agencies. The work on this is being speeded up so that the new center can participate in completing the restructuring of the enterprise base. The number of central agencies will be reduced as well as the size of their staffs.

In both cases these changes will affect quite a few people. From this viewpoint, conflicts will unquestionably arise in many collectives. After all, some workers will have to transfer to other jobs, acquire new skills. But without these changes the restructuring of the economic mechanism cannot be realized. But a transfer to another job does not mean a loss of productive and social usefulness.

Necessary conditions and social securities are being created for all transferred workers. Also, nobody here needs to fear unemployment.

The restructuring of the enterprise base represents a very important step in the implementation of our economic reform. By no means is it only the acceptance of its principles that is at stake, but most of all the concrete, practical steps which will follow. Their implementation depends on the center as well as on the enterprises.

12605

## ROMANIA

### Interview Describes Work of Successful Agricultural Cooperative

27000067 Bucharest *FLACARA* in Romanian  
11 Mar 88 p 3

[Interview with agronomist Nicolae Leustean, by Cici Iordache-Adam: "The Bakery Is in the Yard of the Agricultural Production Cooperative. It Bakes Good and Honest Bread for the Working People"]

[Text] Agronomist Nicolae Leustean, chairman of the agricultural production cooperative [APC] of the Nicolae Balcescu commune, Bacau County, was born in 1944 in Jaristea, Vrancea County. He took over the cooperative in 1981, at a time when it was in decline. Today it is one of the best in the country and has been awarded the "Meritul Agricol" Order Third Class. He is also a deputy in the Grand National Assembly.

[Question] To come to your office I crossed a yard that looks like a building site. I can see that you are rich. The buildings you are erecting are beautiful, highrises with original facades in a modern-rustic style. To what use will they be put?

[Answer] We are rich, and why not; we work well and earn accordingly. We have no debts, we have money on account in the bank, we are self-financing, and we ended the year with an income of close to 10 million lei. In 1986 we took third place in the country for each one of our crops. Last year, despite the draught, the results were as good. What you saw in front by the entrance to the APC yard are two production problems, although, or precisely because they are two social buildings. The white one on the left, which is already in use, is a "sanitary-veterinary filter." People who work with livestock must come in clean and leave clean, they must have a place to rest, take a shower, or have lunch. My purpose is to attract the best people for this work, so I do not want them to look over and envy those who work next door at the state pig fattening enterprise. I must admit that so far, not all of them are the best. The point is that first class livestock can be bred only by first class people. We offer good working conditions, good stalls, modern technology for tending the livestock, and all that was missing was a social complex like this. I want us to

be able to compete with the industry. In point of fact, this is the trend in the development of agriculture in our country, as well as the essence of the new agrarian revolution: to produce food efficiently with the aid of applied science and technology, as our party secretary general repeatedly reminds us.

[Question] You are probably short of manpower. You are practically a few steps from Bacau. The driver was telling me that you are only 4 km from the county seat.

[Answer] In terms of numbers, we have as many workers as we need: about 600 in the farming sector, 200 in the livestock sector, and about 180 in cottage industry. However, from the viewpoint of structure, we share the same situation as everywhere else. The majority are women at an advanced average age. In time, however, this phenomenon will become reversible. In my opinion, we are already at the point where we can no longer think of peasants in traditional terms, the situation is far from what it used to be. I would go as far as to say that it is even far from what it was in 1980. Today's peasant handles advanced technology and is up to date on everything that happens around him. He is increasingly becoming a mechanic, and we are increasingly receiving workers with high qualifications, graduates of agricultural-industrial high schools. It is to them that the future of agriculture belongs. Some 15 such workers have come to us.

[Question] What kind of work do they do? Do they still want to work with a hoe?

[Answer] They do not have to. We have slated them to do specialized work such as handling herbicides, sowing, and applying fertilizer and the results have been good. I am convinced that in not too many decades the hoe will have disappeared. Do not look at me so surprised! Hoeing is no longer done as it used to be. It has become a corrective operation, or rather an additional safety measure applied after the mechanical hoeing. From my own experience I can tell you that wherever we worked with the hoe our yields were not the largest: plants can be touched or hurt, blight can spread, and plant density can be affected. And by the way, we no longer have decent hoes. I do not know what kind of steel they are made of, but they become dull right away.

[Question] Do you believe that machinery can take care of everything, absolutely everything? What about harvesting? Grape picking, for example. Do you have vineyards? You were born in an area of famous vineyards, you know what picking fruit means.

[Answer] I am not saying this because I was a mechanic myself, but there is no going back. Profitability has to be calculated in the agricultural sector and in the APCs, too, on the basis of labor productivity. The agricultural machine builders will have to come to our aid as soon as possible and to mechanize the labor intensive harvesting operations. We have about 280 hectares under vineyards

and we, too, use school children to pick the grapes. We also have vegetables and irrigation—approximately 2,000 out of our 2,200 hectare arable land is irrigated—and in those areas we also need watering machinery; the sprinklers, for example, are shifted manually. How did we solve the problem? I mentioned cottage industry, a sector that we continue to develop. That is at the same time our labor reserve. Aside from the fact that we utilize all the material and production resources we have, which is a source of important cash income—in 1980 we took in over 7,250,000 lei—during the peak agricultural seasons those almost 200 workers are in the fields. So 200 more are added to the 600 we have, and the difference is noticeable. In this sector we employ mostly young people, with a view to also solving several social-demographic problems—this way we persuade more young people to stay in the village by giving them an opportunity to both acquire skills and earn as much as in industry.

[Question] In what trades do you train them, and how much can they earn?

[Answer] Carpentry, dressmaking, fine mending fabrics, wickerwork, rubber processing, and bread and cake baking. They earn 2,000-2,500 lei on a monthly average.

[Question] Is this not unfair to those who work in the fields in the heat, wind, and rain?

[Answer] Not in the least. Our work norm unit for the cooperative members working in the fields is 70 lei. This year we intend, on the basis of calculations and a realistic program, to go up to 100 lei. A diligent farm worker makes about 10,000 lei a year and a livestock worker somewhat more, considering that their program is more difficult and strenuous [all figures as published]. We do not endeavor to equalize incomes, those who work well earn well, like everywhere else.

[Question] And you? You said you were from Vrancea?

[Answer] As long as I work here I am from here. Do not forget, I was elected to lead, so my obligation is twice as high.

[Question] Something I did not understand: when were you a mechanic?

[Answer] In my teens and youth. I see you are sounding me out, do you want to go into my autobiography?! I have nothing to hide! Yes, I began as a mechanic, then I was a tractor driver, agricultural machinery foreman, workshop foreman, and head of an agricultural machinery section. In the meantime, evenings, nights, and every free minute I studied. At the age of 32 I went to college in Bucharest as a full-time student. I graduated in 1980.

[Question] What remarkable will-power!

[Answer] I wanted to get the best possible qualifications. I have always had a strong will, but on the other hand, I have never been prejudiced. I think I inherited both qualities from my father.

[Question] A peasant?

[Answer] A peasant from Jaristea. A peasant who for many years was the chairman of his commune's APC. That is how he retired. We were five brothers, and he took us all out to work in the field and in the vineyard, mother, too. And he was stricter with us than with anyone else. He could not stand to see a job poorly done, and did not allow it. It made him sick to see shoddy work. He did not spare himself, either. I remember, as a child, that in order not to miss the right time for some vineyard work, spraying for example, he would do it even in the rain. He would cover his head with a sack, put the bag on his back, and go to the vineyard against all the prejudices that one should not spray even in the dew. He proved that he was right.

[Question] How come you did not become a horticulturer? Or oenologist? Are vineyards your passion perhaps?

[Answer] No, I wanted to be an agronomist. I like all the crops, but my passion is corn. Corn is, in my opinion, the golden crop of the modern world. Without it you have no livestock, nor many branches of the food, chemical, technical, or pharmaceutical industries. True, it has also been a source of satisfaction to me. Last year we obtained 12,000 kg of corn ears per hectare, which is about 8,000 kg of grains on the entire area under that crop. That is a record for our region.

[Question] What was the yield when you came to Nicolae Balcescu?

[Answer] Some 1,500 kg corn ears, 2,800 kg wheat, 23 tons sugarbeet, and 2,000-3,000 kg of grapes... In 1987, when we felt the draught like the rest of the country, we managed to increase the wheat yield to 4,000 kg per hectare (in 1986 we had almost 5,000 kg), sugarbeet to 60 tons per hectare, barley to 8,000 kg, and grapes to over 7,000 kg. As you see, we obtained double, triple, and even quadruple yields. Of course, these, too, will have to be exceeded.

[Question] In fact, when did you come here?

[Answer] In December 1980, when I was appointed chief engineer. It was the beginning of the fall sowing season for wheat and barley. By harvest time I was already chairman.

[Question] How did you manage to win over the locals so quickly?

[Answer] The peasant has a "nose," so to speak, for the man behind the plow. As I said, I came at sowing time. I stayed among the tractorists the whole time; I did not have a vehicle at the time, so I partly walked and partly rode a cart from one tractor to the other and did not allow anyone to get away with anything, not when it came to applying the technology. Some tried to fool me, but when I got into the driver's seat and drove ahead of them, they whistled pensively, "we have to watch it with this one, he knows his business!"

[Question] And within one 5-year plan you not only put the cooperative back on its feet, but even pulled it up among the best in the country. May I ask how you did it? I suppose through a lot of work and perfect team work. Nevertheless, what was the experience that helped you out of the impasse?

[Answer] Once again I must begin with the soil, and you will immediately see the connection. The soil has great, and even undreamt-of potential. If you put a lot into it, it gives you back a lot. If you take care of it, it never grows tired. The main thing is to understand it well and give it what it needs. The agronomist is its physician. Each specialist and each agricultural unit thus finds its own solutions and has its own experiences, in keeping with its own conditions. Thus, I will tell you about our experience concerning experimental and model lots for corn. We have had them for 4 years and we have been following value curves—the production potential of various species and hybrids suitable for our soil and weather conditions, appropriate plant density and technologies, reaction to various chemical and organic fertilizers, yield increases, and maturation periods. That is an aspect in which we are particularly interested in order to see the earliest possible ripening time. We are also interested in the relationship between time of fertilization and resistance to draught, but I think the details are becoming too technical...

[Question] They are interesting anyway. You convince me that a APC, too, can undertake serious studies and research, not just the specialized institutions and pilot stations.

[Answer] Like in any other profession. More than a few agronomists have done their doctoral dissertations in APCs. It does not matter where one practices agronomy, but how one does it. Nicolae Balcescu has 11 specialists, and we cannot complain of lack of satisfaction or of unfavorable conditions for experimenting with any idea, any scientific thought. The main thing is to have them.

10

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